



OUTLINES OF MODERN HISTORY

BY

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NOTE

THIS book is meant to be read with a modern elementary Atlas, and when new names like Belgium, Holland, and Rumania are used in connexion with old events, the reader must construe these words as meaning the countries then corresponding to the countries now known by those names. Certain names of places have passed into English literature in an English form—such as Hong-Kong, Lorraine, Cologne—and in these cases the English form of the place-name is retained, otherwise as a rule German names are spelt in a German way, French in a French way, and so on. Other books and maps often adopt other spellings, but these difficulties as to spelling will not embarrass the reader who remembers that the place named is more important than the name of the place.

The index is meant to assist the reader in clearing up any ambiguities of this kind arising in the case of places or institutions. Thus the word Protestantism is used in this book in the same way as it is used in many British Acts of Parliament, e g the Quebec Act 1774 and the Accession Declaration Act 1910, and

Christians who acknowledge the Pope as their religious head are called Roman Catholics , but some writers do not always apply these words quite in this way Most of the titles and political institutions to which reference is made bear names of Roman origin , but some names are Teutonic or Arabic, and so on , and the translations and definitions of these names look much more alike than they really are , for their real meaning is only known to those who remember when, where, by, and of whom they were first used, and have been used from time to time , and the reader should correct a single translation or definition of a title or other institution by studying the many contexts in which it occurs For this reason the Index has been made on a larger scale than of this size.

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GEORGE V, KING-EMPEROR

W & D Downey

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE NATIONS OF EUROPE

THE year 1492 with which this history begins was a ^{Europe in} year in which great changes began in Europe—a year ¹⁴⁹² in which, so to speak, spring was going out and the first signs of summer were seen. The chief power in Europe was the Holy Roman Empire, about which no one can know anything, unless he knows something too of the Roman empire to which it succeeded, and of the nations which were subject to or came within the influence of the Roman empire and the Holy Roman Empire.

Rome is a city on the river Tiber in the middle west ^{Ancient} of Italy, Italy being the middle of three peninsulas ^{Rome.} which jut out from Europe into the Mediterranean, the other two being the Balkan Peninsula (at the foot of which is Greece) on the east, and Spain and Portugal on the west. We first hear of Rome (753 B C) as a place of refuge for political outcasts, and as a city, fighting for or against neighbouring Tuscan and Latin cities, the Latins being the kith and kin of the Romans. The Roman language is called Latin after the Latins, and the Tuscans have given their name to Tuscany, which is a province of Italy. The Romans and Latins (unlike the Tuscans) belonged to the Aryan race, to which nearly all Europeans belong, and they were the first Europeans who founded a large state, although Egypt on the river Nile (in Africa) and Babylonia between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris (in Asia) and China were large states before Rome was heard of. The Romans were men who never went to war except for a good cause, and who

always finally ended their wars by leaving behind them cities, colonies, law and good government, the colonies and the cities being joined to one another by roads and arched bridges which they built and kept up. Even so Shih-Hwang ti who made all China into one state (246 B C) built roads and bridges to keep his empire together, but the Roman roads and bridges were made and kept up better than those of China. Roman law was, and perhaps is still, the best in the world, and is the foundation upon which every European system of law is built. Hence it happened that lands, once won, were hardly ever lost, and that strange tribes often asked for Roman help in order to be saved from their own bad rulers or from their enemies. Thus Rome grew larger and larger, and after many short wars, peace became longer and longer and more widespread for it was the just boast of Rome that wherever it went it created 'Roman Peace'.

Rome and
Greece

The growth of Rome was helped by the Greeks, who were their near kith and kin, who lived in cities in Greece, and founded other cities on the coasts and islands of the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Northern Mediterranean. The Greeks were even more busy colonists than the Romans, but they never went far from the sea, nor could they hold their colonies together, so that each city was almost a state by itself. Indeed, each Greek city often warred with itself or its neighbour, for Greeks, though they were the greatest poets, philosophers and writers in the world, were always restless, loath to obey, and quick to quarrel with one another. When Romans were within reach, the Greeks gladly called them in as peacemakers, and, when called in, the Romans let the Greeks be as free as they liked, but joined these colonies together after their wont, and took pains to see that war should never break out again.

The Romans were also helped by enemies who attacked them without cause and therefore deserved to be conquered and held down with a firm hand. Thus certain Gauls (who were Kelts, and Kelts are of the Aryan race) lived at that time in the valley of the Po, in the north of Italy, and used to raid Roman and other lands for the sake of plunder, like the barbarians that they were, so the Romans conquered them and made their lands into a Roman province, which they called 'Cisalpine Gaul' ¹ Some, too, of the enemies of Rome had already formed large states, and the largest of these was Carthage, which is on the north coast of Africa, opposite Sicily, and was itself a colony of Tyre Tyre is a small island, four miles round, on the east coast of the Mediterranean, and a small strip of mainland, seven miles long, also belonged to it It was in Asia, and its people were Phoenicians or Canaanites (to use the Bible phrase), who are (non-Aryan) Semites, and therefore akin to the Arabs and Jews Both Tyre and Carthage founded trading colonies which hung like garlands round and beyond the Mediterranean Sea War broke out between Rome and Carthage when some Greek colonists in Sicily called both to the Romans and to the Carthaginians to help them against other Greeks, and both came, and each took different sides This war lasted over a hundred years (265 B C to 146 B C, but with two long pauses), after which Carthage was destroyed, and its ruins may still be seen near Tunis The Romans seldom destroyed what they subdued, but there was no other way to end this war, for Aryan was pitted against Semite, European against African, rival against rival The long bitter war was waged on the sea, in Spain, Italy, and the south of France, and brought on other wars against the Gauls of France (who were also Kelts and

Rome and
Gaul and
Carthage.

¹ Latin for 'Gaul this (the south) side of the Alps'.

therefore Aryans) and the Iberians of Spain (who were not Aryan, and of whom the Basques in north-east Spain are remnants, the Basques being probably akin to the Finns) Rome having grown so fast and great then took to itself an emperor Here something must be said of the way the Romans governed themselves and others

The
Govern-
ment of
Rome

As Shih-Hwang-ti split up China into provinces over which he put viceroys, whom he alone controlled, so the Romans put such of their lands as lay in the valley of the Po or outside Italy under vice-rulers, whom they tried to, but in the end failed to control After 509 B C, when the Romans did away with their kings, Rome was a Republic, and its magistrates were appointed (but for one year only) by its Assemblies, of which one was 'the Senate' and was made up of men who had been magistrates, and the others were more or less popular, but 'representative government' (where people choose some one to 'represent' them in an Assembly) was not known. The Assemblies sat at Rome The chief magistrates were two consuls and two or more praetors and tribunes, the vice rulers in 'the provinces' were 'pro consuls' or 'pro-praetors', of whom there was only one in any one province The consuls, praetors, pro consuls, and pro praetors had what was called 'imperium',¹ which meant, among other things, the right to lead an army, but 'imperium' meant very little in Rome where magistrates were many and soldiers were not wanted, and meant very much indeed outside Rome, when the consul was at the head of his army, or the pro consul or pro-praetor was alone in his province In the last days of the Republic the Romans often appointed a special pro-consul for large distant districts for a period of some years at a time, in order that he might do some big

¹ 'Imperium' is Latin for 'Empire' but 'Empire' is not used in this sense.

thing; and during this period, so long as he was doing what he was told to do, a pro-consul's 'imperium' was like the power of an absolute ruler.

Thus Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Caesar (miscalled 'triumvirs'¹) were pro-consuls of this sort, Pompey in order to clear the Mediterranean of pirates, Crassus in order to subdue Babylonia, and Julius Caesar in order to conquer and hold France, Switzerland, and England, and to hold Cisalpine Gaul in the valley of the Po, north of the river Rubicon. These men ruled the Roman provinces for a while, as though they were kings. Caesar's task had to be done in ten years; and when the task was done and the ten years had passed away, instead of becoming a mere citizen once more, he marched across the Rubicon with his army on Rome (48 B.C.) where he was given by his friends 'the power of a tribune' for his life, and was made 'perpetual dictator and emperor'. The 'power of a tribune' meant that he could 'veto' or forbid measures and that his person was sacred; 'emperor' meant that he held 'imperium' in the sense which that word bore in the provinces; and after beating Pompey in battle, Caesar held this 'imperium' and 'power of a tribune' until he was murdered by Brutus in 44 B.C. That, shortly put, is how Julius Caesar changed the Roman republic into the Roman empire; but there were many causes at work:—the Assemblies at Rome could not govern so many distant peoples as those whom Rome now ruled; other special pro-consuls were about to do the same thing as Julius Caesar did, only not so well; and, lastly Julius Caesar was so great a man and so much greater than any other Roman of that time, that we may be pretty sure that he was right in doing what he did. After his death, his heir Augustus, being also one of three ruling

¹ Latin for 'three men', i.e. co-rulers.

men (called 'triumvirs'), fought the other triumvirs and won. The empire which began with Julius Caesar first became lasting under Augustus (27 B C to A D 14). 'Imperium', such as pro-consuls had, was given to him first for ten, then for five years, and so on till his death, with express power to use this 'imperium' in Rome as fully as if he had been in his province, so that the idea of empire came from Rome having provinces, and if Rome had had no provinces it could not have had an emperor. He was also given 'powers of a tribune' and the title of 'prince' (which only meant 'leading citizen'), and of 'Augustus' and 'Caesar' for his life. Towards the close of his life he made his stepson, Tiberius, his partner, in order that Tiberius might succeed him, as he did. The same thing was often done by those who came after him with the same results, for the right to be emperor did not pass from a dead emperor to his heir, the emperor only being the magistrate for life in a Republican city with powers differing only in place and time from those of the other magistrates. Indeed, under the empire the consuls, tribunes, Senate and Assemblies of Rome went on as before for more than one thousand years, the only difference being that no one minded what they said or did. Yet Augustus was an absolute king in all but name, he was only not called king because the Romans still hated the word king with a hatred which began in 509 B C and lasted more than two thousand years.

The
extent of
the Roman
Empire

Shortly after this date the Roman empire contained (A D 117) all Europe west of the Rhine and south of the Danube, all Rumania, Bukowina, and the eastern half of Hungary (which are north of the Danube), all England, south of the wall which the Romans built from sea to sea between Newcastle and Carlisle, or afterwards between Edinburgh and Glasgow, to keep out the bar-



JULIUS CAESAR (BRITISH MUSEUM)

barians of the north—that is to say for the very purpose for which Shih-Hwang-Ti built the great wall of China—all Asia Minor, Egypt, Babylonia, and other lands on the coasts of the Mediterranean, so that its eastern boundaries just touched the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf. In Europe it was almost as large as the eighteen provinces of China proper, and its provinces outside Europe were as large as those inside Europe. Its width from east to west was more than three thousand miles. But the later emperors believed that they ruled the whole world.

We must now pass on a few centuries, during which many things happened. The Emperor Constantine shifted his capital to Constantinople (A.D. 330) and made Christianity the religion of the empire (A.D. 324). Shortly after his reign, two emperors always reigned, one at Constantinople, on the eastern peninsula, and the other at Rome, on the middle peninsula of Europe. There was an emperor in the East and West, but the emperors were looked on as partners, and the empire was looked on as one empire. The Eastern emperors scarcely come into my story, for they were usually warring in Asia against Persia or the Power that for the time being owned or claimed Babylonia. The Western emperors did not survive Constantine for long.

Teutons (who are Aryans, and whom the Romans never conquered) often settled within the empire, and served it as soldiers, and the first great band of Teutons were the Goths, who came into France, Italy, Spain, and elsewhere. In A.D. 410, Alaric, King of the West Goths, sacked Rome, but the Goths said that they came 'not to subvert but to restore and maintain the Roman empire'.¹ Then Attila, King of the Huns, came to destroy. The Huns are not Aryans, and are probably the

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Burj, vol. III, p. 333

Hung-Nu of Chinese history, who harried the Chinese during many years, and were at last cast forth, part going to India, part harrying Persia, and part reaching Europe, north of the Black Sea and Danube. Most of the Goths and many Germans (who are also Teutons) joined the Romans, and the Teuton Roman army under Aetius, 'Last of the Romans,' and the West-Goth king, Theodoric, beat Attila at Chalons in France (A D 451), after which Attila laid Italy waste until (as it is said) Pope Leo I persuaded him to go north again. Whether this was so or not, Attila died soon after (A D 453), and the Huns went, and left no known traces of themselves in Europe, unless the Bulgarians, who settled on the river Volga and in Bulgaria and attacked Constantinople (A D 559), are Huns. The saving of Europe from the (non-Aryan) Huns was the last act of the Western emperor. A few years later a Gothic chief named Odoacer told him that he was not wanted, and that the emperor at Constantinople was all that was wanted to keep the empire alive. So the last Western emperor abdicated (A D 476), and as the Goth said, the empire lived on, but it lived on like a ghost, a dream, or a memory.

Germans,
Arabs, and
Charle-
magne

New real people now began to flit across the scene of what had been the Western empire, East Goths (A D 489) then Lombards (A D 568) founded 'kingdoms' in the valley of the Po (which is still called Lombardy), Burgundians on the Rhone and Saone in the east of France and the west of Switzerland, Franks, whose capital was at Aachen, a little west of the lower Rhine, West Goths in Aquitaine or South west France, Alamanni in Switzerland and Elsass, Swabians or Bavarians in Bavaria, while outside what had been the Roman empire, Saxons and Angles who dwelt between the Rhine and the Elbe began to make history.

All these tribes (except perhaps the Goths) were German, the Franks gave their name to France, the Saxons and Bavarians gave their names to Saxony and Bavaria in Germany, and the Angles gave their name to England, where they settled along with many so-called Saxons before A D 500. Of these tribes the Frankish tribes were the strongest, and they proved their strength, when Charles Martel their leader beat back the Moors (as the Mahommedan Arabs and Africans were called) at Tours in France (A D 732) so that they fled back to Spain from whence they came. The Mahommedans were the followers of Mahommed, who founded a new religion at Mecca in Arabia, in A D 622, and when he died his followers went forth to kill or convert the world to their religion and had already conquered and converted Arabia, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain (except in the far north). They were governed by a 'Khalifa' who was looked up to as the representative of the founder of their religion and the rightful ruler of all the earth, a kind of pope and emperor in one, for Mahommedans (unlike Christians) have never looked on Church and State, or pope and emperor, as different things. Thus, then, Charles Martel saved Europe from Asia, Aryans from Semites, and the Christians from the Mahommedan religion. The battle of Tours, like that of Châlons, changed history, and Charles Martel's victory made men think once more of the conquest of Carthage by Rome. 'If', they said, 'a Roman consul were here or the Roman emperor were anything but a vain shadow, this is just what he would have done.' So the Pope offered to make Charles Martel Roman consul, but Charles died. Then Charles's son Pippin and his grandson Charlemagne were called in to save the Pope from the Lombards who attacked Rome, and both Pippin and

Charlemagne came and saved him and gave him lands in the middle of Italy which in 1492 were known as 'the Papal States' In return for these services, the Pope crowned Pippin King of the Franks, and on Christmas Day, A D 800, Pope Leo III crowned and anointed Charlemagne Emperor of Rome

The Holy
Roman
emperor

Now there was already an emperor at Constantinople, and it may well be asked how could another emperor be made without the other emperor's consent? To which men answered, that there was no emperor at Constantinople but only an empress, Irene by name, and that empresses were illegal, and if men asked—how could a Pope depose and crown kings, or make emperors? it was answered that there was no one else to do it, that Charlemagne was worthiest to be emperor, and that Rome and Europe could only be saved by an emperor And this answer was true, for there was no other ruler at Rome, the Pope was, in the eyes of every West-European, head of the Christian Church, and Charlemagne was the greatest man in Europe since Julius Caesar Charlemagne's title was 'Augustus, crowned by God, great and peace giving Emperor governing the Roman Empire' and also 'King of the Franks and Lombards' He was also called Caesar, but he did not, like Augustus, get the tribune's power (to make his person sacred) because, being 'crowned by God', his person was still more sacred He depended upon God, or rather upon the Pope crowning him, and therefore his empire was called 'the Holy Roman Empire' He was not the partner but the rival of the emperor of Constantinople in whose eyes he and those that came after him were usurpers

Feudalism. When Charlemagne returned to Germany he subdued the Saxons and made them Christians, all other Kelts, Germans, Greeks, and Romans having become Christian

long ago Then he and his successors gave lands (called fiefs) to 'dukes', 'counts', 'princes', or 'bishop-princes', on condition that they should defend their fiefs, serve him in war and do other duties; and these dukes, counts, and princes settled other people on their lands on like terms, and ruled these settlers and the settlers who were already there as though they had been kings This system is called the feudal system, and came into being all over Europe about this time, and, when feudalism was full grown, fiefs (other than bishops' fiefs) began to pass from a dead father to his eldest son as with the Northmen, instead of to all his sons as with the early Germans. But it was not always clear whether daughters or their sons could inherit, or, indeed, what was the law of any fief Further, if the princes did not carry out the conditions upon which they held their fiefs, the overlord who gave the fief took it back again, but the emperor was seldom strong enough to do so In later times German princes used to sell or pawn their fiefs or leave them by will to one another (but not to non-Germans), almost as though the fiefs were private property

Charlemagne, being Frank, was German, so all his lawful successors were German, and it is strange to see the Eastern emperor of Rome nearly always Greek and the Western emperor of Rome always German As has been said, it was a German habit to leave property to sons or children in equal shares, and this habit was followed when Charlemagne's three grandsons split up his kingdom by the treaty of Verdun into three parts (A D 843) Under this treaty the middle part fell to Lothaire, the eldest grandson and emperor—this part being a long thin strip from north to south in which the two capital cities, Aachen and Rome, were situate, and containing

Otho I,
emperor.

¹ The German word is *Graf*, *Mark Graf*, &c.

Holland, Belgium, Lorraine (which was called after Lothaire), Elsass, 'Big Burgundy' (meaning Savoy, Dauphiné, the county of Burgundy and the western half of Switzerland), Provence, and the northern half of Italy,—Charles the Bald, another brother, took what was west of this strip and of the Rhone and Saone, and Lewis, the third brother, took what was east of this strip and of the Rhine. Then Lewis's issue died out (A D. 911), and the new empire seemed about to die also, but Otho the Great, King of the Saxons, and German king, went down into Italy and was crowned emperor by the Pope. Lothaire's strip was added to what had been Lewis's kingdom, and thenceforth the people of the lands west of Lothaire's strip were cut off for ever from the German kingdom of Otho and his successors, and this kingdom became 'Germany'—which word until 1806 included the greater part of what is now called Austria. The Western kingdom, which the Franks had never really peopled, became France, and Lothaire's strip began to grow more French than German in its character and language, and was the battle ground and cause of war between Germany and France for the next thousand years or so.

Aryans
outside the
Holy
Roman
Empire
France

I will now leave the Holy Roman Empire for a while and say something of those Aryans who did not come within it, namely the Portuguese, Spaniards, British, Scandinavians or Northmen, and (after Otho) the French. The Northmen were Goths who lived in Sweden and Denmark, whence they sent colonies over the sea to Norway, Iceland, and West Greenland, and after Charlemagne's death Scandinavian pirates left their mark on every European coast. Thus they raided the Seine, and attacked Paris, which successive Frankish 'Counts of Paris and Dukes of France' saved (A D. 881, &c). Then they became Christian, and the

Western king made their leader, Rollo, duke of a fief on the Lower Seine which they called Normandy (A D. 911) It was because of what his father and he did against the Northmen that one of the Counts of Paris, Hugh Capet by name, was chosen king by the nobles and crowned king by the Archbishop of Rheims (A D. 987) Being saviour, he became founder of the French kingdom and the ancestor of all its kings His capital was Paris, and he also owned Rheims, the Church-capital, and Laon the former capital, so that he held the centre of France strongly, but his sway did not reach far, nor did the Dukes of Brittany in the west, or of Aquitaine in the south-west, own him as king, moreover, the men of Normandy or Normans, though now French in speech and habits, were unruly As Augustus made his step son co-ruler in order that step-son might succeed step-father, so for the next two hundred years each King of France before his death made his eldest son co-ruler, but the son had no power until the father died, and then the son became sole king. There was no war of succession to the throne of France, although questions of succession were sometimes raised in the wars between France and England, which now comes into our story

England and that part of Scotland which lay between the two Roman walls, and which is now called the Scotch Lowlands,¹ belonged to the Roman empire until A D 410, but Ireland and the northern parts of Scotland (which are now called the Scotch Highlands) never belonged to it, being peopled by wild tribes After, or possibly before the Romans went, Saxons,² Angles, and Jutes left their old homes near the mouths of the Rhine, Elbe, and Eider, and drifted across the

England
down to
William
the Con-
queror

¹ The 'Lowlands' also include the east coast further north

² Not the same Saxons as those of Saxony

North Sea into England and the Scotch Lowlands, where they made new homes for themselves, drove the Kelts into Wales and the far west, and formed some seven kingdoms, one of which was Wessex or the kingdom of the West-Saxons. Egbert, King of the West-Saxons (802-839), who was a friend of Charlemagne, became over-lord of the other kingdoms. Egbert's grandson, King Alfred (871-901), made Englishmen one in spirit and character, and Alfred's great-grandson Edgar (A D 959 to 975), who was a friend of Otho the Great, became 'King of the English and all the nations round about'. The Scotch Lowlands were now held as an English fief by the King of Scotland, and many Welsh and Scotch princes owned Edgar as over-lord. Between Egbert's and Edgar's time, Danes beat down upon the east coasts of England, first like pirates, then (A D 851) as settlers and they forced English people to cling more closely to one another and to form one kingdom instead of seven kingdoms or so. But in and after Alfred's reign the Danes, who made Englishmen one, set up a kingdom of their own in the eastern half of England, thus splitting England into two, and at a still later date one of their kings, King Cnut, was chosen King of all England, thus making England one again (1016 to 1035), indeed King Cnut was also King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, but although these countries had the same king they did not become one country. Soon after Cnut died, 'Edward the Confessor,' who was Edgar's grandson, and had been brought up by the Dukes of Normandy, reigned (1043 to 1066), died childless, and asked the 'wise-men' (who were the chief nobles of England and always chose the king) to choose as king his minister, Harold, although Harold was not of the Royal House as Edward and the kings before Cnut had been. This the wise-men did, but William, Duke of Normandy,

who had married one of King Alfred's issue, said that both Edward and Harold had sworn that he should succeed the dead king. So William got together a great army and navy, sailed to England, fought and slew Harold at the battle of Hastings (1066), was chosen King of England by the 'wise-men', or by some of them, and was crowned at London by the Archbishop of York, York being the second, and Canterbury being the chief Church-capital of England. He is called 'William the Conqueror' because he owed his throne to his might more than to his right. England was made one by her kings, of whom Egbert, Alfred, Edgar, Cnut, and William were the greatest, and King George V is one of the issue of all these kings except Cnut. Normans caused Frenchmen to choose the first really French king, and the strongest king that England had yet had was its first Norman king.

William was very stern and strong, and gave the lands of the nobles who fought against him to other nobles, whom he controlled with an iron hand. The feudal system now struck deep roots into English life, differences between Danes and Saxons were forgotten, England became one, and kingship soon passed from father to son so smoothly, that after a time the nobles ceased to choose the king as they used to do, although crowning by an archbishop has always been practised, and was looked on as the beginning of a reign until the Reformation (1547). The history of England may now be summed up as the growth of English freedom, which prospered most under weak kings, such as King John (1199 to 1216) and King Henry III (1216 to 1272); and the waging of wars, which prospered only under strong kings such as Henry II (1154 to 1189) and Edward I (1272 to 1307), so that England owes almost as much to her weak as to her strong kings.

Magna
Carta,
1215, and
Parlia-
ment,
1265

In 1215 the nobles of England (who were now no longer called the 'wise-men' but the 'feudal barons') forced King John to sign an agreement that no taxes should be raised without the consent of the 'Grand Council', that freemen should not be arrested or punished save by law, and so on, and the agreement was called 'Magna Carta' or the charter of English freedom. Under Henry III two knights from each shire, and two citizens from each big town sat with the nobles and bishops in the Grand Council of A D 1265. A few years later the 'Grand Council' was called 'Parliament', the towns and shires chose their representatives who sat in the 'House of Commons', while the nobles and chief bishops sat in the 'House of Lords', and no laws could be made in England save what King, Lords, and Commons agreed to. The rest of the clergy held aloof. This absence of the clergy as a whole, this law-making power, and this choice of representatives of shires made Parliament a different thing from the Assemblies of European kingdoms then or some hundreds of years later.

Wars with
Wales,
Scotland,
Ireland,
and
France

The wars waged by the Kings of England were waged to save England and English rights against Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, or Norman and English rights against France. Edward I subdued Wales and made the Welsh obey English law, and since his reign the heir to the English throne has been called Prince of Wales. Fierce wars were waged by Edward I and his successors against the Scotch about the meaning of England being over-lord of Scotland, and Scotland remained under a Scotch king with his capital at Edinburgh in the Scotch Lowlands, until James VI of Scotland, who was great-grandson of Henry VII of England, became James I of England (1603). Henry II, egged on by the Pope of Rome, and drawn by Irish chieftains into

their tribal quarrels, invaded Ireland, set up direct rule in the east of Ireland with Dublin as capital, became over-lord of the rest, and was called 'Lord of Ireland' until the Reformation (1541) when Henry VIII of England changed the title to 'King of Ireland'. Thus England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland became in name a single country under one head. Ireland had a Parliament of its own, and Henry VII of England passed a law known as 'Poynings' Law' (1495) which forbade it to pass laws which had not been approved of by the king and the Privy Council, so that its so-called Parliament was kept under English control. The effect of the English-French wars was to entice England into the mid-stream of European life for four hundred years, instead of being left, so to speak, in some stagnant pond by itself. In these wars two rivals fought a duel unlike any duel that had hitherto been fought in the world, for hitherto duels (like that of Rome and Carthage) were wars to the death, but this duel left both fighters more alive than they had yet been. The British islands shook off what never was and never could be British, and the French put on nothing but what was already French in spirit.

The first cause of the long duel was about the meaning of French kings being feudal overlords of the Dukes of Normandy, who were also Kings of England, and the war meant life or death to France, when the Dukes of Normandy by means of lucky marriages came to own the whole of western France from Normandy to the Pyrenees. There were two 'Hundred-Year Wars', as they were called (1152 to 1242, 1337 to 1453), during which England lost, gained, and then lost half France, except the seaport of Calais which France regained in 1558. After the last war the French kings having (like William I) much land to give away or sell, became far richer and stronger than the lords of French fiefs,

English-
French
wars

moreover, an enthusiastic French Assembly gave them the right to keep a royal standing army in peace time, which right was almost unknown in Europe at that time, and to raise enough money to pay for it. After these wars were over, a War of Succession broke out in England between the Royal Houses of York and Lancaster (1455 to 1485), but ended with Henry VII (1485 to 1509) in whom both lines met, and he, too, though his character was sly rather than strong, became a powerful ruler. He, too, had rebels whom he must punish by taking their fiefs from them, and at the end of his reign he was as rich as he was powerful. Meanwhile, in France, Louis XI, slyest of French kings (A.D. 1461 to 1483), picked for himself choice fragments out of the ruins of Big Burgundy, and he and his successor finally added Dauphiné and Provence to the crown of France. In the reigns of Louis XI and Henry VII feudal nobles and their armies ceased to be of any importance in France or England, and the kings became all-important. Henry VII and Charles VIII (who succeeded Louis XI) were the most powerful rulers, and their nobles were the most obedient vassals in Europe. In 1492 for the first time England ruled Britons, and none but Britons, and France ruled French and none but French. Each was a large compact kingdom, speaking or able to speak one language, and each of its kings had kept himself and his kingdom quite outside the Holy Roman Empire ever since his kingdom was founded.

Spain and
Portugal.

The sly, strong King of Aragon, King Ferdinand (1479 to 1516), and his wife Isabella, Queen of Castile (1474 to 1504), between them ruled all Spain, of which their grandson Charles V afterwards became first king. Aragon and Castile also stood outside the Holy Roman Empire. Each welded itself together by wars against invading Moors. When the Moors conquered Spain they

left unconquered Christians in the mountains, which guard Spain from the Atlantic Ocean and from France, and the Christians remained there on the very edge of Spain like clouds 'small as a man's hand' which grew, melted, and rolled together again into two large masses, which under the names of Castile and Aragon covered all Spain, except Granada, where the last Moors were subdued in the year in which this history begins (A.D. 1492) Spanish kings, nobles, and peasants, worked out their own salvation, and self-help made them great. Castile is named after the castles which the patriots built as they drove the enemy south towards Cordova, the old Moor capital on the Guadalquivir, and Madrid, being in the middle of the 'Castiles' and of Spain, became the capital city. The Portuguese also reconquered the Moors of Portugal, but their capital, Lisbon, is a seaport, which was only captured with the help of strangers, who passed its Atlantic shores. The Kings of Portugal built a fleet, carried the war against the Moors into Africa (1415), annexed West-African ports and islands which are still Portuguese, and discovered the Cape of Good Hope (1486). Men asked in amazement what it all meant. The Portuguese called it a Crusade, and it was both like and unlike the later Crusades towards Jerusalem, or the adventure of the German knights.¹ The Pope took this view, blessed their flags, and gave them their conquests, which never belonged to him. Enemies of Portugal thought the so-called conquests mere raids for slaves, which the Portuguese brought home in order not to convert, but sell, and there was some truth in these accusations. Wise men wondered and were silent. Meanwhile all these differences between Spain and Portugal made Portugal drift apart from the Spanish part of the peninsula.

¹ See *post*, p. 22 et seq.

Non-
Aryan
Magyars
and Slavs

We will now pass to the Aryan and non Aryan nations, who dwelt outside, not only the old Roman empire but the Holy Roman Empire, all of whom began to play a part in European history between the date of Charlemagne and the year A D 1000. Otho was crowned emperor because of his and his father's victories over the Magyars and Wends. The Magyars are (non-Aryan) Finns, who invaded western Europe on horse-back from eastern Europe, and whom Otho finally conquered on the river Lech in Bavaria (A D 955), and drove back into Hungary, where they settled and founded the Christian kingdom of Hungary (A D 1000), the Pope sending them their crown. Owing to this victory Otho was looked on as the saviour of Aryan and Christian Europe. His father and he also finally conquered the Wends and drove them eastward from the Middle Elbe, the Wends being barbarous non-Christian Slavs who never formed kingdoms or built cities, and the Slav race being one of the great branches of the Aryan race, distinct from the Graeco-Roman, Keltic, and Teuton branches. These blows, it was thought, were also struck for the Christian religion, and such as a Holy Roman emperor ought to deal

Slavs in-
cluding
Servia,&c

Slavs, whom we now meet for the first time, included Serb Croats (of Servia, Croatia, Montenegro), Lechs (of Poland), Czechs (of Bohemia), Great and Little Russians, and some lesser races such as Moravians, Lithuanians, Wends, and Borussians. The Serbs, who were settled in the Eastern empire, founded a Christian kingdom of Servia on the Balkan Peninsula which still exists though shrunken in size, and they took their Christianity from Constantinople so that they belonged to the Greek Church, which never owned the Pope as its head. The Bulgarians, their neighbours on the east, adopted the Servian language and joined the same

Church West of the Serbs, the Croats formed the Christian kingdom of Croatia, which merged more or less in the kingdom of Hungary, and was a larger edition of the present Croatia. The Czechs formed the present kingdom of Bohemia on the Upper Elbe, and the Moravians, of what is now Moravia, were a kind of Czech. Hungary and the German parts of Austria divided the Serb Croats from the Czechs, just as the Wends of Silesia, which is north of Moravia, divided the Czechs from the Lechs or Poles. 'Great Poland' was a country with vague boundaries stretching east and west of Warsaw on the Middle Vistula, and became a Christian kingdom (A.D. 1000) in the same year as Hungary. Then it took over 'Little Poland', or the lands on the Upper Vistula, now Austrian 'Galicia', more or less, whose capital was Cracow, and whose people were mostly 'Little Russians'. Little Poland was divided from Bohemia by Moravia, which thenceforth was tossed to and fro between them until it fell into the lap of Austria. Silesia had a like fate, being once under Poland, then free, and then (1290 to 1740) tacked on to Bohemia. The Polish kings received their title from the Holy Roman emperor, and their religion from the Pope of Rome, but they often had no kings, and each of their dukes and nobles ruled his land without being controlled by anybody. They were not a seafaring race, and did not reach the sea. The Wends lined the Baltic, west of the Vistula, and spread between those parts and Silesia. Wherever there were Wends, German colonists flocked in and ruled, and Otho formed in their midst a feudal bishopric which afterwards became the feudal German state of Brandenburg near where Berlin is now. On the Baltic coasts east of the Vistula and west of the Niemen were 'Borussians' (whence comes the word Prussia), between the Niemen

Lithuania, and Dwina were Lithuanians, and then Finns, for there were no Russians there as yet. The Lithuanians were under grand dukes who conquered the Russians on their south, until the grand dukedom touched the Black Sea near the Dnieper. Then the Lithuanians were baptized in the Church of Rome, and their aichduke married the heiress of Poland, and became King of Poland (1386), so that one king or archduke ruled both countries (1386 to 1572), but the countries only became one kingdom under the 'Union of Lublin' in 1569. The Russians meanwhile dwelt in republics almost as many as their villages, 'Great Russians' in the north and 'Little Russians' in the south. Almost in the year in which Danes first settled in England, Northmen on their way to Constantinople left rulers with the Russians at Novgorod on Lake Ilmen (in the north) and at Kiev on the Dnieper in the south. Two centuries later, a descendant of these rulers became ruler or 'Tsar' of Moscow, which is on a tributary of the river Volga and is the same distance from Novgorod and Kiev but further east than either. Tsars of Moscow knit Russia together, but the work was only beginning in 1492. Like the Servians, but unlike the other Slavs, the Russians belonged to the Greek Church, so that they had nothing to do with Rome or the Holy Roman Empire. Slav lands, where German colonists were many, such as Silesia and the Wend country, always counted as parts of the Holy Roman Empire, to whose history we must now return.

The Wars
of the
Holy
Roman
Empire
Crusades

Three vital wars were waged by all Europe against non-Aryans between 1000 A.D., when the last Christian monarchy was formed, and 1492, the Crusades, the Mongolian, and the Turkish wars. The Crusades (1095 to 1292) were wars for the recovery of Palestine from the Mahommedans, and were Europe's answer to

the Moorish invasion of Spain Palestine was won, and Jerusalem became a kingdom, defended partly by several 'Orders' of knights, such as Templars, Knights of St John, and German knights, who were half monks, but chiefly fighters There were, in all, seven Crusades, in which three Holy Roman emperors, three French kings, and two English kings took part, but in the end fugitives from Jenghiz Khan got back from the Crusaders everything that the Crusaders had won Then the Order of the Templars, being no longer of use, was put an end to by the Pope, and its property was taken by English and French kings (1312), the Order of the Knights of St John, after many wanderings, found its way to Malta, which is an island in the Mediterranean, and the German knights found work to do elsewhere

Jenghiz Khan, a Mongolian from Karakorum (the ruins ^{Mongols.} of which may still be seen near Urga north of the desert of Gobi), before his death in 1227, overran a strip of the earth six thousand miles wide between the China Sea and the Lower Dnieper As Charlemagne's realm passed to three of his grandchildren, one of whom was emperor, so Jenghiz's realm passed to his son Ogdai, who took the east, his grandson Batu, who took the west, and his son Jagatai, who took the middle, Ogdai being 'Khakan' or 'Grand Khan' or overlord of all. Ogdai upset the 'Kin' kings of northern and the 'Sung' kings of southern China, and his nephew Kublai Khan became ruler of all China and made Peking his capital Carpini, an Italian monk (1246), and Rubruquis, a French (?) monk (1253-1254), crossed Asia on embassies to the Grand Khan at Karakorum, and a merchant of Venice took almost the same journey at almost the same time but to Peking, and afterwards went thither with his son Marco Polo, who served Kublai Khan (1271-1295) An Italian Franciscan monk named John Montecorvino founded

in Peking Christian missions (1295-1328) which died shortly after his death. In 1492 Europe knew hardly anything of China but what they learned from Marco Polo or these monks. But this is by the way. Batu went westward, slaying, roasting, and skinning men, women, and children, and sacking and burning such towns as Moscow, Kiev, Cracow, and Pesth (the capital of Hungary). At Liegnitz in Silesia a Silesian duke, half Pole half German, fought him and fell (1241), and at Olmütz in Moravia there was a dubious battle, after which Batu suddenly returned to his capital on the Lower Volga, and his followers, mostly of Turkish stock, spread over South Russia between the Volga and Danube, and afterwards became Mahommedan. Thus Europe was saved from a second Attila. But who saved Europe? Not the Pope nor the emperor, who were busy in Italy cursing one another with all their might, but simple Slavs led by a duke half Slav, half German, and aided by German 'monk-knights' and colonists. Salvation of this sort was a new thing in Europe.

Turks

The Turks (or Tu Kiue) once lived in Kan su, south of the desert of Gobi, then scattered themselves out west, and were drawn into or thrust forth by the Mongol torrent which swept through Asia. Amongst those who shunned the Mongols were a small tribe of Mahommedan Turks, called Ottoman Turks, who settled in Asia Minor, warred against the Eastern empire and took Constantinople (1453). Thus the first of the Turks were in the eastern peninsula of Europe a few years before the last of the Moors were out of its western peninsula. Henceforth only one emperor was left, for the Eastern empire ceased to be. In a few years the Turks brought all the Balkan peninsula (except the tiny state of Montenegro) under their sway,

made the greater part of Rumania pay them tribute, and crept up the Danube towards Hungary, but Belgrade on the Danube was guarded by a Hungarian named Hunyadi and withstood them, and Hunyadi's son, Matthias Corvinus, became King of Hungary (1458-1490) and held them back like a rock. Then King Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, was chosen King of Hungary—and here my story must break off. Up to this moment Silesia and Hungary proved the bulwarks of Europe, and emperor and Pope were weighed in the balance and found wanting.

From the wars we must now pass to the laws and states of the Holy Roman Empire. It must be borne in mind that the emperor was also King of the Franks or, to use the later title, King of the Germans, and that Franks and Germans were wont to choose their king, but if possible only from the reigning family. In Germany, nobles, bishops, and city delegates formed the National Assembly, which was customary in Europe, and which atrophied into 'the German Diet', instead of ripening like the English Grand Council into a Parliament. The Diet itself did little but decide whether and how all Germans should war against outside enemies, how German peace-breakers should be punished, or what German owned what fief in Germany, but seven of these nobles formed a committee, which chose the King of the Germans, and the seven were the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, and the Electors (as these nobles were called) of three princedoms, first the Palatinate—which consisted of two wings without a body, one wing north of the Middle Danube, and the other wing on both sides of the Middle Rhine, the right and most of the left wing being in modern Bavaria, which is in south Germany, secondly, Saxony, and, thirdly, Brandenburg in north

Its constitution
and States
The
Electors

Germany This method of election was settled by the 'Golden Bull', which was a sort of 'great charter', to which the emperor and Diet agreed in 1356, and which was never altered until the Electors of Hanover and Bavaria were added to these 'seven lamps of the empire' some four hundred years later. The King of the Germans had a right to be emperor, but only became emperor after being crowned by the Pope at Rome. Until the emperor went to Rome he was only 'Emperor elect', and the last emperor who was crowned in Rome by the Pope died in 1493, nor did any Pope crown any Holy Roman emperor anywhere afterwards, except once (1534). Thus a great visible link of the empire with Rome and the Pope snapped as this history begins, and no one seemed to mind. Sometimes the emperor's successor was chosen in the emperor's lifetime, and called 'King of the Romans' which was a new title, but was a custom old as Augustus. If the emperor were not a German prince as well as emperor he would not have an acre of land, nor one penny piece, nor would he command a single soldier in Germany, so that his plight would be pitiable indeed. Therefore great German princes were always chosen emperors. All the Electors were great princes, and they, and to a less extent lesser princes, ruled like kings, each in his own land, and the emperor had very little control over them.

Habsburgs
of Austria.

From 1308 to 1437 Counts of Luxemburg (which is west of the Rhine) were chosen as emperors, and were also nearly always chosen by the Czechs as the Kings of Bohemia. Since 1437, except once, when Austria was ruled by a lady (1740), Austrian archdukes of the house of Habsburg were emperors, but Czechs or Lechs reigned in Bohemia in 1492. The archduchies of Austria were on the Middle Danube, and their chief

capital was Vienna, and the right to Austria carried with it the right to the duchies of Tirol, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola further south. Formerly Habsburgs owned eastern Switzerland, but the Swiss had shaken off their yoke and set up federal states, which no longer obeyed the empire, much less the Habsburgs. Habsburgs had been emperors before Luxemburgs, but the Turk peril now made the Electors cling to the lords of Vienna, and they still rule Austria-Hungary. On the west of Austria different princes of one family, known as the family of Wittelsbach, ruled Bavaria and the Palatinate, and the mutual jealousy of Wittelsbach and Habsburg holds the key to much that followed.

Brandenburg stretched east and west between and a little beyond the rivers Elbe and Oder, with Berlin in the centre. The family of Hohenzollern, who now rule Germany, but once owned only a few small fiefs in southern Germany, bought Brandenburg for cash (1417), partly from its mortgagee, partly from the emperor, for in those days birthrights were for sale by Germans to Germans, if the emperor's consent was also bought. There are two small provinces, called East and West Prussia, on the flat-lands of the Baltic coasts, from a little west of the Vistula to the Niemen, and in these two provinces the barbarous Borussians were thinly scattered—hence the word Prussia. In 1228 a Polish duke, much vexed by these Borussians, gave their country, which was never his, to a German bishop, who could do nothing with it, but called in the Order of 'German Knights' to conquer, Christianize, and own it. This Order was an Order of Crusading monk-warriors, formed in Palestine, and like all these Orders under the Pope, but unlike most of them confined to one nation. They arrived, and after them came German traders and German colonists from the flat-lands

Hohen-
zollern of
Branden-
burg East
and West
Prussia

on the North Sea coasts, these Germans founded towns, and this Order thenceforth ruled East and West Prussia East of them, and still on the Baltic coasts, a sister or daughter Order called Knights of the Sword, took in hand the barbarous Lithuanians and Finns, but the Lithuanians outwitted their knights by taking Christianity direct from the Pope, and by then telling the knights that there was no more work for them to do and that they must go War ensued in which both Orders fought against both Lithuania and Poland, which were then under one ruler, and the Orders were beaten (1410) Germany, which claimed the lands of the Orders, turned a deaf ear to their cries for help, and at last West Prussia was annexed to, and East Prussia became a fief of the Polish kingdom (1454). As yet neither East nor West Prussia had anything to do with Brandenburg or with the Hohenzollern South of Brandenburg lay Saxony, something like what it is now but more scattered The Wettins who ruled in Saxony usually regarded the Hohenzollern with jealousy

Free Cities
and Han-
seatic
League

Each German prince was complete master in his own house, but not of great trading towns, all of which were 'free cities of the empire' and had no master but the emperor, and even he had no more real power over his towns than he had over his nobles These towns sent deputies to the Diet, and made leagues with one another for defence or commerce Their most famous league was the Hanseatic league, which consisted not only of towns in Germany, but also of towns or part towns wholly or partly built by Germans outside Germany, on what are now the Baltic coasts of Russia They also owned, elsewhere, streets or blocks of buildings, called 'factories', where they or their trade guilds carried on trade and enjoyed trading rights by agreement with the

ruler of the country, in the same sort of way as is the case with Europeans in the Treaty Ports of China. As there, so here, these traders used to live under their own laws in the foreign land.

The cities of Northern Italy were in name free cities under the emperor, but in reality free republics, and the emperor when he visited Italy came as a stranger, unless perchance he was asked to make some leading citizen (or 'princeps') a duke, or to take part in some civil war between the Pope's party (or 'Guelfs') and the emperor's party (or 'Ghibellines') in some factious city — for each city was as prone to quarrel with itself or its neighbour as were the old Greek cities. Each great city owned large country districts round about it, and was a city-state, the three leading city states being the republic of Venice on the east, which half-belonged to the Eastern empire, but really belonged to no empire, Genoa on the west, which coquetted with French kings, and Milan, now a dukedom, midway between the two.

Venice is built in a lagoon which is part of the Adriatic Sea, its streets are sea, and its carriages are boats. When it first rose from its sea-bed it was a city of refuge from Attila (A.D. 452). In the time of the Crusades it carried Crusaders and their arms, food, and horses to and from Palestine, where it opened factories, got trading rights, and owned land in every big trading town. Shortly before 1453 it also owned, as fiefs, many ports and nearly all the once Greek islands, hanging like necklaces of pearls between Venice, Constantinople, and Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean, but before 1492 these pearls were plucked and gathered in one by one by the greedy Turks. Till then it was lord of the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea for purposes, at all events, of trade. But it was not sole lord. The republic of Genoa, which pushed its way east, by means of its factories or those of

Cities of
North
Italy

Venice and
Genoa

its joint stock companies, instead of by fiefs, was its rival. A 'hundred-year war' broke out between the rivals, which ended with an attack by the whole Genoese fleet on Venice and the utter destruction of the Genoese at Chioggia, which is close by Venice (1380). After which, Genoa, which is on the old Roman coast road between Rome, France, and Spain, put itself under the French king, received a French governor and became a republic under foreign protection. The rulers of Venice were formerly twelve 'tribunes', but now and for many centuries past a Doge was chosen for his life, formerly by all the people, but now by a 'Greater Council' only, and he was held in check by a permanent Council of Ten which was originally appointed for two months only as (what is now called) a Committee of Safety. Venice, which was free from foreign control, strangled freedom as well as despotism within its borders. Most of the factories, both of Genoa and Venice, survived the conquests both of Arabs and of Turks, and the chief factories which survived were at Tana and Feodosia (on either side of the strait between the Black Sea and Sea of Azov), Constantinople, Aleppo (on the road between Tyre and Babylonia), and Alexandria (in Egypt). These factories monopolized the European trade of the whole of Asia in 1492, for there was no other way by which Persian, Indian, or Chinese products could come to Europe, except through one or other of these factories. Genoese and Venetians were the sailors of Europe, Genoa and Venice were its foreign traders.

Milan and
Florence

Milan had been under the dukes of the family of Visconti until 1447, when their male line failed, and a Sforza who was son-in-law of the last duke succeeded. The Duke of Orleans, who was now heir to the French throne, also had a claim by marriage but had not pressed it. In the city state of Florence, which ruled most of

Tuscany, Lorenzo de Medici was 'princeps' or leading citizen, and he kept the peace of Northern Italy, until his death in 1492. Milan and Florence contained the bankers of Europe. The citizens of these four towns, Venice, Genoa, Milan, and Florence, included the cleverest, richest, and most restless people in the world. The states south or east of them were the Papal States, including Rome, which the Pope ruled or rather misruled. Pippin's gift had borne this fruit.

South Italy had been chaos. After its loss in A.D. 476, it was recovered and lost by the Eastern empire, then came the Arab Mahommedans, then, in the year of the Norman conquest of England (1060), the Normans, to whom the Pope gave it as a feudal kingdom, the giver being the feudal chief. Thus the Pope created not merely a king, but a kingdom. German princes inherited it from the Normans, and there was fine confusion when one of the German princes became Holy Roman emperor as Frederick II (1212 to 1250), and would not own the Pope as feudal lord. Indeed, it seemed absurd for the Holy Roman emperor, being as he was feudal overlord of the whole world, to hold fiefs of any overlord. Because of this confusion the emperor could not attend to the Mongolian invasion (1241), and the Pope gave away the crown to a scion of the royal house of France. The French came, and as vesper-bell tolled in the capital of Sicily on one spring evening in 1282, eight thousand Frenchmen were struck dead by assassins, and in a few days every French man, woman, and child in Sicily was slain. This un-Aryan act took place in Sicily,—which was largely Semite even as it had been fifteen hundred years before—and is known as 'Sicilian Vespers'. The King of Aragon claimed South Italy and Sicily as heir of the Germans, and a scion of that royal house ruled South Italy and Sicily as king in 1492. His

capital was Naples, and while he reigned there was order in the chaos of South Italy

'Lothaire's Strip' In what once was 'Lothaire's strip' (A D 843), most of the West Swiss joined the East Swiss, and, sword in hand, cut themselves loose from 'Big Burgundy' When Charles the Bold, last Duke of Burgundy, died (1477) the county of Burgundy (which meant Big Burgundy without Switzerland, Savoy, and Dauphiné, and was afterwards called Franche Comté) went to his daughter Mary The Burgundian Netherlands (which included what are now Belgium and Holland) had been inherited by Charles's father, and it too went to her She married Maximilian of Habsburg, who was afterwards emperor (1493-1519), and this marriage changed history Lorraine and Elsass, which lay between Burgundy and its Netherlands, was still German One duchy, composed of Savoy and Piedmont, lay like two linked panniers on either side of the Alpine range of mountains, and had long since passed from the empire into a French-Italian sphere, all its own Its dukes are the ancestors of the present Kings of Italy, and their capital was Turin in Piedmont, which is in Italy For the next three hundred years or more these dukes played a great part in history as the independent guardians of the mountain passes between France and Italy These door keepers seldom shut their doors upon any one who wished to pass through Provence and Dauphiné joined France as has been said

Summary We have at last finished our meagre outline of two thousand years of history The names, especially the geographical names, may seem hard, but any modern Atlas ought to make them easy In using this Atlas the reader must remember that Prussia did not exist in 1492, that Italy and Russia were names of ungoverned

districts, that Germany included Austria and (after 1356) Bohemia, that Austria meant only the Austrian archduchies on the Middle Danube and those feudal possessions of the Austrian House of Habsburg, which touched the archduchies on south and west and were owned by the same House. If the names are hard the dates are easy. In round figures, Rome was founded seven hundred years before Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon, Charlemagne and Egbert were just eight hundred years after the Christian era, which is the era of Augustus. The Western empire disappeared five hundred years, and the Eastern empire fifteen hundred years after the reign of Augustus began. Northmen settled in Novgorod and England at the same time, Normans settled in Sicily and England at the same time. Indeed, the dates are so easy that the reader might be tempted to rely too much on dates and too little on periods, and it was to guard against this error that I began by likening periods of history to the European seasons of a calendar year, and I will now try and carry that metaphor a little further. The period of twelve hundred odd years of Roman dominion which closed in 476 may be likened to the closing of one year in a man's life, for twelve hundred years are to a nation very much as one year is to a living man. This period did not close in anger. Germans came to the Western emperor and said, 'As you left us out when you planned your so called Empire of the World, so now we will show you that we can do without you.' Thus the old year was rung out and the new year was rung in. During the last months of winter, which are the first months of the new year, the German nations settled more or less where they now are, and then wished for a new emperor of the world, and sought an emperor from the Pope, because there was no one like the Pope in Rome or in Christian Europe, and the

Christians revered him as their head. So he crowned Charlemagne, and shortly after this sacred rite spring set in, and young nations began to grow and sprout in the west of Europe. Then a still younger generation, which consisted not of Germans but of Slavs, knocked once more at the door and said, 'Why have you left us out? We too want to grow.' So they too tried to become nations, with help of emperor and Pope, in the same way as the Germans had done, and the Germans planted themselves over the lands of those who would not try. When war came like a plague from the Far East, the new Slav plants stayed it and drove it back. In these times clocks (A D 996), compasses, firearms (1450?), modern printing (1450?), and watches (1490) were invented by Europeans and came into use in Europe. It was in these times too that the great Florentine poet Dante sang his 'Divine Comedy', and that great Gothic churches rose like palm trees throughout Western Europe. Surely such times can only be compared to spring with its leaves and buds, its storms and sun, its fears and hopes, its strange beauty and its steady growths. But here again the reader must be warned against trusting too much to metaphors. Spring suggests that summer will follow, and it has followed but it is by no means clear that summer will be followed by anything that can be likened to autumn or to winter or to any other season.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW AGE

NEW WORLDS, NEW WARS, AND NEW RELIGIONS

THREE new events ushered in a New Age in the history of Europe, new worlds were discovered, new wars were waged, and the Christian religion changed. In 1492, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, who served Isabella, Queen of Castile, sailed out into the Atlantic in order to reach China and India from the east, and discovered the islands of Haiti and Cuba in the West Indies. He thought Cuba was the mainland of Asia, and Haiti an island off its coast, possibly Japan, although Hong-Kong, which is in the same latitude as Cuba, is 11,500 miles away, and the then undiscovered continent of America lay in between. Sailors of that time could measure their latitude by sun and stars, but not their longitude, which requires clocks and other instruments. Columbus had with him letters for the 'Grand Khan', as though Mongols still ruled China, and he came as Viceroy to rule what he discovered. A capital was built at San Domingo in Haiti, and afterwards at Havana in Cuba, and he looked on his realm as a stepping-stone to Jerusalem, which he longed to deliver from the Mahommedans, for he was a Crusader through and through. Then the Pope gave the western half of the world in these latitudes to Castile (1493), even as he had already given the eastern half to Portugal, and, like most men to whom gifts are given, neither power asked whether the giver ever owned what he gave, but both powers agreed next year to draw a line from North Pole

to South Pole somewhere in the Western Atlantic, the non Christian world west of that line to belong to Spain, and the east to Portugal (1494) Under this Treaty of Tordesillas, as the agreement was called, Brazil was to be Portuguese, and the rest of America Spanish No one could draw the line, but the agreement, like modern European agreements for separate 'spheres of influence', served to keep peace between the parties who signed it

America is
colonized

Before Columbus died (1506), he saw the mainland on the south and west of the new sea which he had entered, and before 1519 his old comrades had sailed right round the seas which wash this mainland, from Venezuela by the isthmus of Panama and Darien, and thence by Mexico to Florida In 1513 the first white man who ever saw the Pacific Ocean, gazed on it 'silent upon a peak in Darien' In 1519 H Cortez, a Spanish colonist of Cuba, sailed with 590 men, with cannon and with horses into the Gulf of Mexico, wove a Cross into his flag, landed, burned his boats, and marched to Mexico, which was a city of 300,000 people, situate like Madrid on a high inland plain, and the capital of a fierce, treacherous race, which had never seen white men, horses, or guns, and which delighted in human sacrifices War could not fail to break out between such men and Cortez, who in a few years added the province of Mexico to the crown of Spain In 1530 Pizarro, a Spanish colonist of the isthmus of Panama (through which he wished for a canal) sailed southward over the Pacific, and in a few years added Peru to the crown of Spain Thenceforth Spaniards, most of whom claimed high rank, came and settled, and at first their labourers were natives, who did forced life long labour for their masters, like serfs, then black slaves were brought from West Africa by Netherlanders with the leave of Charles V (1517), and the slave trade between West

Africa and East America became the bane of the Atlantic for the next three hundred years. Columbus sent slaves to Spain for sale, but that was soon forbidden, and slave-dealing and slavery existed nowhere in Europe except for a time in Portugal.

Soon after the first discovery of Mexico and Peru vast silver mines were discovered there, and for some 250 years or so a stately Spanish fleet passed every year to and fro across the Atlantic, between Havana or two West Indian ports (one north of the Isthmus of Panama, the other in the Gulf of Mexico), and Seville (below Cordova on the Guadalquivir) or Cadiz, where the king levied his customs' dues, nor might Spaniards send ships across the ocean except with this fleet, nor might Spaniards quit Spain for America, or America for Spain, without leave. Although the new sea between North and South America was as large as the Mediterranean, the Kings of Spain claimed it and all its coasts and islands, as their very own, where no stranger might intrude, much less trade without their leave, and this was one but not the only cause of every war between Spain and England for the next 250 years.

Hardly had Spain gone westward when Portugal sent Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope to Calicut on the south-west coast of India (1498), seeking, as one of Vasco's sailors said, 'Christians and spices'. This then was the grand secret of that chain of islands and other posts in Western Africa. They were stations where sailors on their way to the Far East might 'refresh' themselves, so as to avoid scurvy, which in those days, afflicted every sailor, who was long at sea. It seems that the idea of going round Africa to India had been broached two hundred years previously by the Genoese Vivaldi, that a Portuguese traveller named Covilham had ten years previously told the Portuguese

Portugal
colonizes
in the
East.

king of the Arab trade at Calicut, Cannanore, and Goa on the west coast of India, at Hormuz (in the Persian Gulf), and at Sofala (in what is now Portuguese East Africa), all of which he had visited from Egypt. In a few years Portuguese factories and forts appeared among the Hindoos at Calicut (1500), Cannanore (1501), Cochin (1502), Goa (1510), Bombay (1534), and Diu (1535) on the west coast of India, and (later) at Madras (1547) and Hughli (1586) on the east coast of India, among the African Aïabs at Sofala (1505), and Sokotra (1507), among the Burmese at Pegu (1511?), among the Persians and Aïabs at Hormuz (1507, 1515), among the Malays at Malacca on what they called the Straits of Singapore (1511), and in the Molucca islands (1514), among the people of Ceylon at Colombo (1517), and later, among the Chinese at Macao (1557). They also traded guns in the southern island of Japan (c. 1545), where they set up a factory at Hirado. Before 1515 their posts seemed to control every strait between Africa, Asia, and the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Their history in the East teemed with alliances and wars. Although the idea of a Crusade soon melted away, their first successes were largely due to the Crusading spirit, thus they attacked Mahommedan Arabs because Arabs were their old enemies, and Mahommedan Malays whenever the Malays proved treacherous, but Indian princes only if other Indian princes craved their aid, and in these small wars their ships and firearms were invaluable. The Portuguese called themselves 'Lords of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia', but a mouse does not swallow elephants and camels quite so quickly, and their tiny islands or island-like peninsulas at Goa, Diu, and Macao, which are still theirs, prove that they worked on a scale very different from that of the Spaniards, and that, as a Chinese trader

said, 'if removed from the sea they die like fish' An ancient Roman would have called Mexico and Peru provinces, but would have found no semblance of a Portuguese province in the East, except perhaps Ceylon Elsewhere they were little more than merchants in some factory. Unlike the Spanish king, the Portuguese king was sole trader, but often sold to favourites and foreigners a right to send their trade-ships with his trade-ships For want of customers in Portugal, Indian goods were often sent to the Netherlands and sold there Portugal had not the money nor had it the men to carry on so large a business by itself, its African islands, and after 1538 even its east-bound ships were manned by criminals Other countries did the same thing, but did not rely upon criminals in the same way as did Portugal

While Portugal was eastward-bound, Magellan, a Portuguese in Spanish employment, sailed to South America, discovered the Straits of Magellan, crossed the Pacific to the Ladrões and Philippines, where he planted a Cross and died fighting on the side of a Malay chief, who, he thought, was a Christian, and a very few of his comrades reached home by the Moluccas, which were then Portuguese This was the first voyage round the world Spaniards and Portuguese, after some disputes, assigned the Moluccas to the Portuguese and the Philippines to the Spanish sphere of influence, and the Spaniards colonized the Philippines and Ladrões from Western Mexico and Peru (1565) Protestant visitors to the Philippines noted there the large numbers of idle Spanish friars and priests, and of busy Chinese merchants from Canton, Chincheo, and other towns Even in Acapulco on the west coast of Mexico Chinese merchants dwelt Thus colonization of one kind or another ran round the world before any European nation except Spain and Portugal had entered for the race True,

Magellan
sails round
the World

John Cabot, a Genoese, who was a naturalized Venetian, had discovered Newfoundland for Henry VII, King of England, in 1497, and English, French, and Basque fishing fleets went there every summer, Francis I, too, King of France, had sent Verrazzano, a Florentine, to explore North America (1524), and Verrazzano had coasted from Florida almost to Newfoundland, but to explore and to fish is not to colonize

Printed
books re-
cord these
things

Printed books noised abroad the wonders that had happened, and men heard that Spain got from America in one year as much silver as all Europe used to get in ten years, that Babylonia, Egypt, Venice, and Genoa had lost, and that Portugal had won, the keys of Asiatic trade, and that the sun never set upon the possessions of the western peninsula of Europe. Some men asked: How could any empire be a world-state, when no one even knew of America, which is larger than Europe *plus* Africa, and only less large than Asia in size? What the emperor lost, the Pope gained in fame, for the Pope gave away, or pretended to give away, these undiscovered continents and seas. The westernmost peninsula of Europe, which owned the authority of the Pope but not of the Holy Roman Empire, now shone like the moon amongst stars, but it became great by turning its back on Europe, to which we must now return.

Charles V,
Francis I,
Henry
VIII, are
in power

As we have said, the last three kings who deeply influenced Europe were Louis XI, Henry VII, and Ferdinand of Aragon, husband of Isabella of Castile, all of whom were strong because they were sly. The fate of Europe came once again into the hands of three kings, who often met and feasted or fought with one another, and were once rival candidates for the empire — Charles V, grandson of Ferdinand and of Isabella and heir of the house of Habsburg, who inherited the Netherlands (including Holland and Belgium) and the

county of Burgundy (afterwards called 'Franche Comté') in 1506, Spain in 1516, Austria in 1518, and who was chosen emperor in 1520, Francis I, King of France (1515 to 1547), and Henry VIII, King of England (1509 to 1547) Charles V kept his possessions apart from one another, and issued a charter (Wahl-Kapitulation) to his German subjects, promising not to use Spanish troops in Germany, and he appointed or allowed the German Diet to appoint a committee (Reichs-Regiment) to rule Germany, when he was absent He was an ugly, silent, devout, slow, and wise man, Francis I was handsome, brilliant, gay, and unstable as water, Henry VIII was blunt, quick, and self-willed, and had a knack of putting himself utterly in the wrong by the way in which he did what was entirely right, but Englishmen liked their monster, and said that he was only 'bluff' These three kings, who may be compared to an elephant, a stag, and a bull, were now harnessed, so to speak, to three chariots in Europe The stag ran lightly into the thicket of Italian politics, and wars began in which two French kings had already torn themselves, and out of which they had found it hard to struggle

Charles VIII, King of France (1494), and his successor, Louis XII, rushed into Italy at the call of Pope Alexander VI (1492 to 1503) and various Italian cities Charles and Louis wished to assert their claims to Naples, Milan, or both, but the Pope and the cities pursued only their own separate interests Many leagues were made and unmade Louis XII made the first league which was ever made by any king with the Swiss Republic (1499), which had hitherto been looked on as part of the empire At one time the French king, the Pope, the emperor and the King of Aragon formed the League of Cambray (1508), in order to deprive Venice of its

The
French
kings in-
vade Italy

possessions on the mainland, but the two kings quarrelled over the spoils, and Pope Julius II (1503 to 1513), having got what he wanted, turned against Louis, so did the Swiss, who won Milan for the empire and were rewarded with a strip of Italy (1512), most of which they still hold, and Louis, deserted by his friends, was barely able to return to France. Then Francis I dashed into the fray, seized Milan, was taken prisoner by Charles V at Pavia (1526), and the war ended with the Peace of Cambray (1530), under which former kingdoms, duchies, and republics (including Genoa) were restored, the gains of the Swiss and of the Papal States were confirmed, Charles V protected Milan and North Italy with Spanish instead of Imperial soldiers, and Italy became much the same that it was in 1496, except that the leading citizen of Florence afterwards became the Duke of Tuscany (1569), and so on and so on. This war was unlike any war hitherto waged in Europe and was a type of every war during the next 260 years. It was a 'Thirty years' war'. War loans, lent by bankers, hired soldiers, cannon (1512), and muskets (1524) decided battles for the first time. It was a war between leagues, in which each leaguer had a different motive, and in which the kingdoms of Europe proved infinitely stronger than the flimsy city states of Italy. The old idea of permanent European unity had vanished, and a new idea of a permanent balance between different European powers took its place. Charles V in his hour of utmost triumph (1526) would not try to put an end to France, knowing as he did that French and Germans would no more mix than would oil and water, Francis I in his hour of utmost distress (1526) actually called on the (Mahomedan) Turks to help him, saying that Charles V was getting 'too powerful'. He seemed to look on Europe as a balance with scales into which the Great Powers put weights, and Charles put too many

We shall hear of this idea again, under the name of the 'Balance of Power'

Yet the Turks still threatened Europe, and in the very year of Pavia, the last Slav King of Bohemia, who was also King of Hungary, fought them and fell at the battle of Mohács in Hungary (1526). The Turks smashed the Czechs and Magyars to pieces, and ever since then, except once only, Habsburgs have been elected to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, and Austria has been leader in the defensive wars of Christians against Turks. After Mohács Buda, the capital of Hungary fell, Belgrade had already fallen, and Vienna was the next great city on the Danube. In 1529 Germans drove the Turks back from the walls of Vienna, and in 1683 Vienna was again, and for the last time, attacked by the Turks, whom Germans, Slavs, Magyars, and Poles defeated, John Sobieski, King of Poland, being the general of the victorious army and the hero of the day.

Turkish
wars con-
tinue

But to return to the Italian wars. Men noted that the Duke of the Papal States, for whose sake Alexander VI lured Charles VIII and Louis XII into Italy, was the Pope's natural son, that Julius II took the field in person, that both Popes issued Papal curses against those who fought against them, that Pope Leo X, the famous Pope of the House of Medici (1513-1521) hunted, gambled, and was the companion of buffoons. Many, too, of the cardinals—great priests, named by the Pope, whom they advised and chose in the same sort of way as Electors chose the emperor—bought and sold their votes, and were worse men than the worst Popes. Yet, under these un-Christlike Popes and cardinals, Raffael and Michel Angelo, greatest of European artists, made Rome more splendid than Rome had ever been, and the Pope reached the zenith of his glory, and men bowed down before him from the utmost parts of the earth as well as in almost

These
wars
throw light
on the
Papacy

all Europe. Then a series of blows fell on the Pope. These blows are called the Reformation, and those who dealt them are called Protestants.

Protes-
tants attack
Popery

The Pope ruled the Christian Church in civilized Europe, and in those colonies of Europe which ran like a girdle round the world. He declared holy men, long since dead, to be saints, neither he nor priests nor monks might marry, for they were God's messengers and agents, and all these dead and living witnesses rose like a cloud between a man's soul and his God. Many good Christians likened this cloud to a rainbow of many hues leading from earth to heaven, but Protestants likened it to a dark screen which shut out the sun from things that needed sunlight, and which must be rent asunder. A man, whom a Pope pardoned, was forgiven his sins or his penalties for sin, and a man whom a Pope cursed was cut off from every religious rite in the Christian world, and was thought to have no hope after death, and if the Pope cursed a kingdom, its subjects lay under the Papal curse, and they were invited to rebel against their king, and foreigners were invited to destroy him. The Protestants were those who laughed at Papal pardons and Papal curses. The first Protestant of this age was a Saxon peasant and 'Augustinian' monk, named Martin Luther, who taught in the University of Wittenberg, on the river Elbe, and had been at Rome (1511), and had seen those Popes and cardinals, whom I have described.

Luther in
Germany
becomes
Protestant

In 1517 a 'Dominican' monk, named John Tetzel, came to Saxony selling Pope's pardons for money, which Leo X wanted in order to adorn Rome. Luther nailed to the church door in Wittenberg statements disputing the Pope's power to pardon, and Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony (1486 to 1525), forbade the sale in his part of Saxony. In 1519 a great debate was held in Leipzig, which was the capital city of Duke George, who

was duke of a part of Saxony not under the Elector, thither Luther went, and there he made speeches against the Pope which horrified Duke George. (In 1520 Luther wrote that the Pope was not head of the Church, that national councils should govern it, and that priests might marry. The Pope sent a Bull, or sealed writing, in which he solemnly cursed Luther.) Luther called a crowd together in Wittenberg and burned the Bull. In 1521 Luther was summoned to meet the emperor and his Diet at Augsburg in the far south. He went, he was ordered to retract what he had written, and he refused, then Charles V laid his ban, which is a sort of curse, upon Luther, so that his life was no longer safe in Germany, and he stood like one man against the world. But he stood like a rock. German hearts were moved, and Frederick the Wise put him safely away in his castle of Wartburg. In 1525 the monk Luther married a nun. All this was printed and widely read, and Luther printed a translation of the Bible (1522 to 1534), which became the first standard book in German prose, just as the first printed English Bible (1525 to 1535), printed as it was in Germany, became the first standard book in English prose. Princes of the empire became Lutherans, notably, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, Philip, Count of Hesse, and somewhat later Hermann, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne.

German statesmen were alarmed. If electors were Protestant, how could they elect an emperor whose title was the crown which he received or had a right to receive from the Pope? What, too, if bishop-princes appointed by Protestant princes were cursed by Pope and emperor? What if Protestant princes seized rich monasteries and the supreme law court of the empire ordered them to restore what they seized? The answers to the second and third questions brought trouble

Protestantism has political effects

The
Schmal-
kalden
League is
formed

Frederick the Wise, Philip of Hesse and others formed the League called the 'League of Schmalkalden' (1530) to resist Pope, emperor, and law courts if they interfered with what Protestant princes did in their own lands, and the League broke German peace twice with success. The emperor, who had other big wars on hand, for which he needed Protestant help, compromised for a time. In 1545 a Church Council was held at Trent, in which Pope, emperor, cardinals, bishops, and others took part, and which decided that Protestants were wrong in all those matters in which they differed from the Church, and in 1546, the year of Luther's death, the emperor's army marched against Philip and the Elector of Saxony.

One Diet
at
Augsburg
makes a
political
com-
promise

Meanwhile the German knights in East Prussia had become Lutheran, thanks to the Lutheran Osiander, and their Grand-Master, a Hohenzollern, accepted East Prussia as a hereditary duchy and fief from the King of Poland (1515). The Elector of Brandenburg, too, had begun to act as head of the Church in Brandenburg, and had introduced Protestant rites (1539 et seq.), and Duke George's Saxony, and Maurice, its then duke, had become Protestant. Nevertheless, Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg fought for their emperor against Philip and the Elector of Saxony, who were easily beaten, and Maurice became Elector of Saxony, and Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, resigned. A Diet met at Augsburg in 1547 to solve the religious and other difficulties. Religious compromises were discussed and postponed, but the Diet agreed upon the 'other' difficulties. Thus it ordered the Netherlands and Franche Comté to be counted as part of the Spanish possessions of the Habsburg family, and to be free from German law. Charles V had recently taken into his own hands Gelderland and the large possessions of the bishopric of Utrecht—that is to say, the land-links between Eastern and Western

Holland—and he now kept them for himself and his Spanish heirs, so that Holland as well as Belgium were virtually transferred from the empire to Spain

Efforts after religious peace were balked by Maurice, who began a Protestant war of his own in Central Germany (1552) France came to his aid Francis I, who was now dead, had allied himself to Swiss and other Protestants while suppressing Protestants at home His successor did the same, and he now won for France the possessions of the Bishops of Metz, Toul and Verdun in Lorraine Of Lothaire's strip the greater part thus passed to Spain, and the French were just beginning to nibble at the central part The Diet at Augsburg (1555) adopted a final compromise between Roman Catholics and Protestants and allowed a prince to be Lutheran or Roman Catholic as he chose, and to make his lands one or the other, and if any subjects objected, they could go elsewhere Church property which had been transferred to Lutherans before 1552 remained Lutheran Future prince-bishops, who changed from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant religion, were to forfeit their lands Something was said, too, about Lutherans being free to pursue their religion in Roman Catholic States Otherwise there was no 'tolerance' for one religion in a state which held the other religion No room was left for Protestants, who were not Lutherans (Large parts of South Germany had taken their Protestantism from Zwingli, a married priest of the city of Zurich in Eastern Switzerland, or belonged to the Church founded by Calvin (1509-1564), in Geneva, a city in Western Switzerland, which was even then shaking off the yoke of its prince-bishop Zwingli and Calvin ruled small republics, Luther was saved by princes of large states Lutheran churches were controlled in Germany by Church Courts which took their authority from the prince, who regarded

A second Diet at Augsburg makes a religious compromise

himself as entitled to the powers of a 'supreme bishop'. Calvinist ministers were controlled by one another or by the elected 'elders' who elected them and by no one else. Calvin was a French lawyer, Luther a German prophet. Luther struck fire, Calvin gave light. Calvin organized, Luther inspired. In the year 1560 very little of Germany, except what had formed part of the old Roman empire, was Roman Catholic.

Spain
creates an
Inquisition
and Order
of Jesuits

Spain had two institutions with which it fought against Protestantism, the Inquisition (1479 et seq.) and the Jesuits. The Spanish Inquisition was a Church Court, over which a Dominican monk named by the king presided, its methods were secret, and its aims were not only religious but also national, namely, to purge Spain of Moors and Jews. By its aid and advice eight hundred thousand Jews had been driven from Spain (1492) and two thousand 'heretics' had been burned alive before 1498. The Jesuits were in 1534 seven lonely friends—Ignatius Loyola, of Basque-Spain, Francis Xavier of Navarre, four other Spaniards, and a Savoyard—who met and swore to found a new monkish Order which should serve like unarmed soldiers under their 'General', and save their Church by every means except by fighting. The Pope enrolled the Order (1541), and at a day's notice Xavier was sent to Goa, and he preached there and in Ceylon, Malacca, the Moluccas, and Japan until his death in Chang chuen-shan¹. Goa had already had missionary monks, but none like Xavier, for the Jesuits excelled in skill, daring, and devotion. Jesuits came, too, to Spanish America, where a Dominican monk, Las Casas, was already missionary (1511 et seq.), and Las Casas and the Jesuits protected the natives from oppression. Wherever missionaries came, the Crusading idea of conversion by war died out. Not that the mis-

¹ Or Sancian Island

sionaries shunned force or were always wise. Las Casas sanctioned African slavery in America, and planted the Spanish Inquisition there (1516), but only for Europeans, Xavier advised the Portuguese to fight the Jews of Goa with the Inquisition, and they did. In Europe, Spain made itself more at one with itself, but more cruel, by stamping out Protestantism, as well as freedom, by means of the Inquisition; and Jesuits troubled every Protestant European country with their intrigues.

Between the years 1500 and 1525 there was at Cambridge University in England a little group of scholars—Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Tyndale, Coverdale, Rogers, Bradford, Barnes, Lambert, Frith, Bilney, Crome, and others—who used to walk and talk together on a hill, close by, called ‘heretics’ hill’, and were called ‘Gos-pellers’. Two were Augustinian monks, all were priests or monks, and at Cambridge they saw and heard the great Erasmus, whom Bishop Fisher brought there, and who taught all Europe to laugh at saintly fools without hating or despising them. They discussed, too, the deeds and writings of Luther, and Tyndale, who knew Luther, translated and printed the New Testament (1525), in order, he said, that the ploughboys of to-morrow might know more about it than the bishops of to-day. Coverdale (1535) and Rogers (1537) printed the whole Bible in English, and Tyndale’s Testament and Coverdale’s Bible became the standard of English prose. Many married, Cranmer marrying Oslander’s niece. Then the whim of a lustful English king whirled these twelve quiet friends into power.

Henry VIII married his dead brother’s widow, Catherine of Aragon, Charles V’s aunt, and had by her a daughter Mary. But for the Pope’s leave, which was secured, this marriage would have been contrary to Christian law. Then he tired of her, and asked

Protes-
tants
appear in
England

Henry
VIII has
his
marriage
troubles

Cardinal Wolsey, who asked (Bishop) Gardiner, to ask the Pope to declare this marriage void. Cardinal Wolsey was the last of the great English statesmen and Lord Chancellors who were also priests, and he and his agent Thomas Cromwell had helped Henry to break up useless monasteries and seize their property (1525). Wolsey and Gardiner did their best but failed, because Catherine appealed to Rome (1527-1530). Cranmer, who was an old friend of Gardiner, happened to say to him that, despite the Pope's leave, the marriage was void, and that any University would say so (1529), and he wrote a book to that effect (1530). Henry VIII seized hold of this idea, dismissed Wolsey, who died soon afterwards, and obtained opinions from the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Paris, Bologna, and elsewhere, confirming Cranmer's views. After Wolsey, Cromwell became the king's chief minister (1530-1540). He had lived much in the Netherlands and knew doubtless of the office of 'supreme Bishop' which German princes were about to usurp or had already usurped, and suggested to Henry VIII that he should adopt the title of 'Supreme Head of the Church'. At that date English bishops and priests had an Assembly of their own called Convocation (which still exists), and Convocation accepted the new title 'so far as Christ's law permits' (1532). In 1533 Cranmer, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed judge in Henry's cause, and declared the marriage void. Even before the declaration Henry had married Anne Boleyn, and their daughter was Elizabeth.

This has
effects on
Church
and Parlia-
ment.

Out of the king's sin the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Church Court won control over marriage questions which they retained until 1857. Acts of Parliament made appeals to Rome illegal (1533), settled the

Succession to the Crown (1534), and gave the king the title of 'Supreme Head of the Church' (1534). In some of these Acts there was a taint of tyranny. The Succession Act imposed oaths to 'defend everything in the Act', and it seemed wise to make men swear to defend the succession, but the Act had an unfair clause which stated that the king's marriage was void. Sir Thomas More, the author of *Utopia*, and Lord Chancellor, offered to swear to defend the Succession but not to defend the unfair clause, and was therefore thrown into prison. Another harsh but perhaps necessary Act made it high treason to call the king a heretic by word or otherwise, or to try and deprive him of his titles, including, of course, the newly-invented title. Under this last Act Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were tried and executed (1535), Fisher justly, but More unjustly, for More had only kept silence when the king's friends came to him as friends and asked him if he thought that the king was supreme head. Violence as well as a strengthening of Church Courts and of Parliament were the fruits of the king's sin. And there was also danger from abroad. The Pope laid his Papal curse on Henry and on others, threatened to depose him, and sent Cardinal Pole, who was of English royal blood, to urge Francis I or Charles V or both to carry out the threat by invading England, or at least, as we should say now, by boycotting England. But they were busy elsewhere.

The cruel comedy of the king and his wives went on. Anne was tried, found guilty of adultery, and executed (1536). Two weeks later the king had another wife, Jane Seymour, and she died leaving a son Edward (1537). In 1539 Cromwell arranged a new marriage with Anne of Clèves, Clèves being a German state on the Lower Rhine, where Protestantism was most like

More marriage troubles have other effects

that of England and Brandenburg She was ugly though faithful, therefore her marriage was dissolved in a few months, Cromwell was found guilty of malpractices and executed, and Catherine Howard became Henry's wife (1540) She was lovely and unfaithful, therefore she was tried for adultery and executed (1541), and Catherine Parr became his sixth and last wife (1543)

Vigorous
measures
are taken

During all these marriages, the mere mention of which may well tire any reader, the king always thought first and foremost of England's safety The throne was settled by Act of Parliament on Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, so that no war of succession might break out after Henry's death Henry built a Royal Navy of fifty three ships averaging 237 tons each, and a Navy Board was set up, which lasted until modern times Acts of Parliament were passed whereby Wales finally became part of England, and the first Welsh members sat beside English members in the English Parliament (1535, 1542) Irish unrest, in which Jesuits took part, was quelled, and the English and Irish Parliaments gave Henry the new title of 'King of Ireland' As Overlord of Scotland he would not allow French Scotch leagues against England, and arranged for the guardianship of Mary, Queen of Scots, who ascended the Scotch throne when she was one week old (1542) As in every Protestant state, monasteries were deemed useless and their property was transferred by Parliament to private or public uses There was one blot upon the legislative vigour of the reign Old forgotten barbarous laws against heretics were revived, and under them Bilney, Frith, Lambert, and Barnes were burned alive in public (1531 to 1540) Six Articles of Religion—probably the work of Gardiner—were made law (1540), and compelled Latimer, Coverdale,

and Rogers to live abroad Tyndale had already been burnt alive abroad. There was reaction in Henry's reign, and when Edward VI, a boy ten years of age, followed Henry (1547 to 1553) men asked what would happen? Had Protestantism been burned out? Was it merely king-made and doomed to die with the king who made it? The opposite happened, partly because Henry VIII chose the guardians of his infant successor, and their advisers, wisely and in accordance with law

In Edward's reign (1547 to 1553) the Reformation was completed. Edward had, as guardian, first, the Duke of Somerset, known as Protector Somerset, and afterwards the Duke of Northumberland. Each guardian was advised by the Privy Council, and Parliament was supreme over all. Protector Somerset prophesied that 'Great Britain', by which he meant England and Scotland, would soon have one ruler, whose subjects would be called 'Britons', though Scotchmen and Englishmen would keep their laws distinct. He wished for this purpose to betroth Edward VI to the Queen of Scots, but she was betrothed, instead, to the heir of the King of France, and was taken to France. Soon afterwards her mother, who was French, became regent, and the French king and his heir began to boast that Scotland was already his kingdom and that England would be his kingdom by and by, when Henry VIII's last lawful child (meaning Mary) died. Each of the English king's guardians was Protestant, and the Privy Council and Parliaments were also Protestant.

Under Protector Somerset every law which punished men for their religion was swept away, and Acts of Parliament were passed creating a uniform religious ritual. Cranmer had just finished an English prayer book, modelled so far as might be on the old Latin Mass, which Roman Catholics used, and the first 'Act

Under
Edward VI

The Pro-
testant or
Anglican
Church is
founded

of Uniformity' (1549) ordered that this prayer book should be used in every church, that no other church service should take place, and that all persons must attend church or be imprisoned (1549). The Second Act of Uniformity (1552) was like the first, but it added 'Forty-two Articles of Religion' which broke as little as possible with the past, and which were compiled by Cranmer, aided by Ridley and Latimer who were now English bishops, but not by Gardiner who broke with Cranmer in 1547 and was now in prison. This prayer book and these Articles have hardly been changed from that day to this, for Cranmer was a builder whose building has endured. True, those who had not come inside the building were not cared for, and these Acts punished them for remaining outside, but the building was very spacious, and it was hoped that there would be room for all. Latimer expressed Cranmer's ideal when he described the Anglican Church, which was thus set up, as 'Catholic' but not 'Romish'. Then came the crash.

Queen
Mary

The Duke of Northumberland, fearing Mary, persuaded the dying boy-king to make an illegal will appointing Lady Jane Grey his successor. She was a blameless lady with royal blood, but the plan recoiled on his and her head. Every one was indignant with him and her, Mary became queen in accordance with the Act of Succession and amid enthusiasm, and the duke and Lady Jane were put to death. Then Mary married Philip, better known as Philip II, King of Spain (1555 to 1598), son of Charles V, and ruler also of the Netherlands, Franche Comté, and North and South Italy, but not of Germany. Philip is also known as the king who only laughed once. Six of the twelve Cambridge Protestants, whom I named, had been already burned alive for their beliefs, and six remained, these six



PHILIP II



were now together in England and all were thrown into prison. Every religious law passed since 1528 was repealed. Cardinal Pole came as Pope's Legate, Parliament sanctioned his Commission, and he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury instead of Cranmer. Gardiner and Bonner were reappointed bishops. These three men, Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner, tried the six friends for heresy. Coverdale was begged off by the Lutheran King of Denmark, whom he joined, Crome gave way, Rogers was burned first, then Ridley and Latimer, then Cranmer. All four of them went to the stake like bridegrooms to the altar, Latimer saying to Ridley as he went, 'Be of good comfort, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out.' In the three next years three hundred Protestants met the same doom. In Mary's last year Philip dragged her unwillingly into a Spanish war with France, and England lost Calais (1558). In the same year, and on the same day, Pole and Mary died. Gardiner was already dead. Mary died childless, and Englishmen felt as though they had awakened from some bad Spanish dream, gave a sigh of relief, and muttered 'Never again.'

The Italian wars mixed the European powers together, and left them less united than they had ever been. Colonial schemes strengthened Spain and Portugal, which seemed to divide the non-European world between them, religion divided and weakened every great kingdom except Spain, which, in order to preserve its unity, resorted to savage means like those which its Moors had taught it. No movements since the Crusades had roused men so much as the colonial and religious movements, but the colonial movement made men look far, and the religious movement made

men think as well as feel deeply, and what happened anywhere was immediately made known everywhere by the Press. The Press made the adventures of explorers, and the communings of six or twelve friends, into historical forces which shook or made or unmade the mightiest kingdoms of Europe.

CHAPTER III

NEW KINGDOMS, NEW NATIONS, NEW COLONIES

IN the second half of the century which we are describing Protestantism ceased to divide and weaken, and began to make and strengthen states and to enlarge their horizon. Three countries were pushed into the forefront by these results of Protestantism. France, the Netherlands, and England. Protestantism acted on these three states differently.

French Protestants were Calvinists who caused political as well as religious discord. French policy towards them wavered, but, until 1560, inclined towards tolerance. Under Charles IX (1560 to 1574) and Henry III (1574 to 1589) civil war broke out between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and ceased only in the reign of Henry IV (1589 to 1610). This thirty-two years' war (1562 to 1593) had intervals of peace, during one of which (1572) Protestants flocked to Paris to attend the wedding of their leader, Henry of Navarre, who was afterwards Henry IV. In the early morning of St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, the Paris church bells rang, and immediately thousands of sleeping Protestants were slain. The massacre of St Bartholomew, as it is called, was followed in other French cities. Men thought of the Sicilian Vespers and put the blame on the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, and her Italian favourites. All Europe shuddered, except the Pope, who struck a medal, and Philip II of Spain, who laughed his only laugh. Henry of Navarre escaped death, and after leading his Protestants to many victories became king, turned

Roman Catholic (1593), and granted tolerance to Protestants by many edicts, the last of which was the 'Edict of Nantes' (1598). Protestants were allowed to hold public offices, to worship privately anywhere, and publicly in two places in every judicial district, and where they already worshipped. Two hundred forts (including La Rochelle) were placed under their control. The outcome of this war, which is the nearest approach in Christian Europe to a war of religion pure and simple, was tolerance. France became the most enlightened state, because it was the only tolerant state in Europe.

The
Nether-
lands

The Netherlands waged one of the greatest of European wars, which began by being partly religious and partly national, and ended by being wholly national. Ever since the King of Spain owned them, the ports of the Netherlands brought Spanish as well as Portuguese goods to market, and Germans and Englishmen bought the treasures of the Far East and West not in Portugal or Spain, but in these ports. The Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces which had been duchies and the like, but had now passed by inheritance, marriage, purchase, and the like into the hands of the King of Spain. The northern half (commonly called Holland) is guarded from the sea by dikes, which its Dutch inhabitants spent many centuries in building. Belgians and Flemings inhabit the southern half, now called Belgium, Dutch and Flemings being Teutons, and Belgians Kelts. The Dutch were usually Calvinists and the Belgians Roman Catholic. As for size, three Hollands would make one Portugal, six Portugals one Spain, eight Spains one China. The provinces were federated, each had its Provincial Assembly consisting of nobles, town delegates, and sometimes a few clergy, and the whole had, since 1465, one similar Assembly (States General) of its own, but none of these Assemblies

were democratic, the town councils, instead of the people, usually choosing the town councillors and delegates to the Provincial Assemblies, and the Provincial Assemblies choosing the States-General

When Philip II became¹ King of Spain and the Netherlands (1555 to 1598), he made William the Silent, Prince of Orange—who was also a German prince and Dutch count—governor¹ over Holland. In 1564 the king ordered heresy to be destroyed in the Netherlands root and branch by means of the Inquisition. William the Silent protested against this order, and also against the presence of Spanish soldiers. In 1567 the Duke of Alva, who was a Spanish general, marched ten thousand soldiers (and two thousand females) from Italy to the Netherlands in order to restore religion, became Governor-General, boasted that he had tamed men of iron and was now about to crush men of butter, invited the leading men in the Netherlands, except William the Silent, to a feast and a debate, arrested and executed them, and set up a tribunal of three Spaniards to try rebels and heretics secretly, which tribunal tried and condemned them wholesale, and at least once executed them before trial. Alva's tribunal was lawless and brutal, and his reign was a reign of terror. In 1568 William the Silent was outlawed because of his protests, and from 1568 to 1584 he waged war. In 1569 he let loose Dutch 'privateers' or armed merchant ships on the Spanish ships which brought powder, food, and money to Alva. Philip said, 'better no kingdoms than one kingdom of heretics', but the Dutch replied, 'better no land than Spanish land,' pierced their dikes, and let in the sea, which washed armies, farms, and homes away. The war was a sea war to the death, in which Dutchmen, not Belgians, played the leading part.

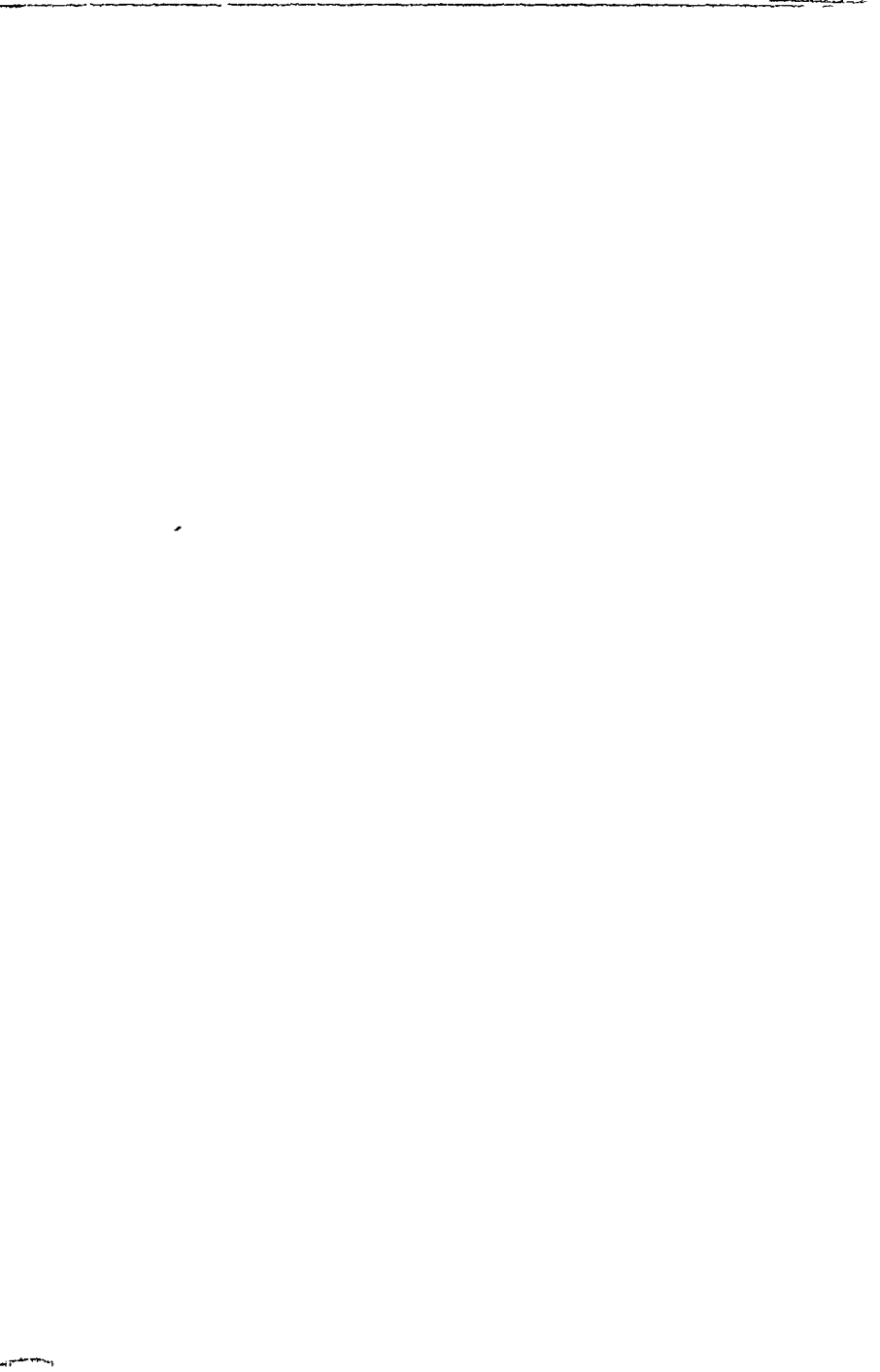
The War of
Liberation

¹ Stadhouder.

In 1579 the Dutch provinces formed the 'Union of Utrecht', and in 1581 they declared that their king was deposed, and they formed a Federal Republic, making William the Silent hereditary count or Governor¹ of its chief provinces. He and his heirs were like presidents or 'Protectors' of the Dutch Republic. In 1584 an assassin, bribed by Philip, slew William, and Alexander, Duke of Parma, the new Governor-General, lured or won the Belgian provinces back to the Spanish king. William had fought for bare life, for tolerance, and for the union of the Netherlands. Thenceforth Dutchmen fought for the freedom of Holland only. William's son and heir, Maurice (died 1625), won victories by land, Dutch fleets attacked Spain and Portugal in the East and West Indies, and at last Spain treated with Holland as though it was an independent power (1607) and gave Dutchmen a right to trade in the East Indies and (it was secretly added) anywhere (1609). Portugal by an accident of inheritance had become part of Spain (1580) and remained so for sixty years, and that was why its colonies suffered for what the Spaniards did. The war of liberation from the foreign yoke had succeeded after forty years (1568 to 1609). In the Italian wars city-states without national spirit proved like dust in the balance, in this war a handful of cities fired by a national spirit defied the strongest kingdom in the world. It was helped indirectly by the English wars against Spain, but such direct help as it got from England and other powers did little good. Its own right arm and unconquerable spirit made it free—if free is the right word—for it was not, nor did it ever become democratic, and its Calvinists proved intolerant.



WILLIAM THE SILENT



to 1603) the religious laws of Mary were repealed and those of Henry which Mary had repealed were revived, and except in 1660, these are the only cases in which an English king or party wholly undid what the last king or party did, for the English instinct is progressive and leads men to amend rather than to destroy. The New Act of Uniformity was like that of Edward's reign, but a so called 'Court of High Commission' was appointed by the queen from time to time in order to enforce uniformity in the same sort of way as bishops' courts used to do. A new Act of Supremacy compelled every one who wished to be a clergyman or professional man to swear that the king (or queen) was supreme head of the Church—a provision which continued in force until in 1688 the Stuart family ceased to reign. The Stuart kings were descended from Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, who was great granddaughter of Henry VII and Elizabeth was the last and greatest of the Tudor family, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary being the other Tudors. The greatness of her reign was largely due to Cecil, Lord Burleigh, who was her minister from 1558 to 1598, to Sir F. Walsingham, who served her from 1573 to 1590, to her sailor knights Sir Humphrey Gilbert (died 1583), Sir Richard Grenville (died 1591), Sir Martin Frobisher (died 1594), Sir John Hawkins (died 1595), Sir Francis Drake (died 1596), and Sir Walter Raleigh, and lastly to her dramatists, one of whom, William Shakespeare, is the greatest of all dramatists. Elizabeth would not meddle, if she could help it, in wars upon the Continent, but saved up for the peril which during the first thirty years of her reign drew nearer and became more deadly day by day.

In 1570 the Pope issued a Bull (or sealed writing) which cursed and deposed her. Even before 1560, Mary, Queen of Scots
Mary Stuart had called Elizabeth a bastard, and had

said that she, Mary, was the true heir of the dead Mary, but her deeds rather than her words were the cause of her own ruin. When she was a child, Earl Arran, a wavering Protestant, was regent of Scotland (1542 to 1554), then her mother, who was French and a fervent Roman Catholic, was regent (1554 to 1561). She herself lived and married in France, but in 1560 her husband, the then King of France, died, so in 1561 she returned at last to Scotland, afire with Roman Catholic zeal, very French, and very beautiful. To her amazement she found the Lowlands already Calvinist—thanks to that queer rough Scotchman, John Knox, and her French troops were sent home as being foreigners. So she married a Scotch lord, Lord Darnley (1565), and gave undue power (and perhaps love) to her Italian secretary, David Riccio by name, whom Darnley and other lords dragged from her side and murdered. Three months later her son James was born (1566). Earl Bothwell, aided by Mary, murdered Darnley, ran off with Mary, divorced his own wife, and married Mary (1567). The Scotchmen were mad with rage, Bothwell fled, Mary was forced to abdicate (1567), she was then imprisoned in Scotland but escaped to England, where she was detained for twenty years. Her son James then became King of Scotland, and he was a Protestant, and afterwards became James I, King of England (1603). Turbulent Scotch regents, hatred of French and Italian courtiers, a strange taste for Knox's sermons, and a natural loathing for Mary's vices threw Scotland into the arms of Protestantism and of England, Protestantism being the cement which bound the two kingdoms to one another.

After the Bull of 1570 Elizabeth lived with a sword hanging over her head by a thread at which Jesuits and priests tugged. She was amorous, and might have



QUEEN ELIZABETH IN 1590

Reproduced, by permission, from the portrait in
Jesus College, Oxford

1. The first part of the paper is a review of the literature on the topic of the paper. The second part is a description of the methodology used in the study. The third part is a presentation of the results of the study. The fourth part is a discussion of the results and their implications. The fifth part is a conclusion.

married a Spanish, French, or Swedish king, or an Austrian, Danish, Scotch, or English noble, but she thought of the two Marys and shook her head. She placed some hopes on France until St Bartholomew's massacre (1572), and then knew that England alone could help England. She remained a maiden island queen who never married or even ever went outside England. After the Bull of 1570, and the massacre of 1572, priests were treated as rebels if they performed Roman Catholic rites, and in 1585 they were expelled. Whether the danger justified these measures it is not for us to judge, but the danger was great. In 1583 a plot was made to assassinate Elizabeth, Mary Stuart aiding the plotters, Elizabeth escaped the fate which overtook William the Silent a few months later, and the plotters and Mary were tried and executed (1586-1587). In 1585 the Spanish king seized every English ship that was in Spain, and in 1587 Walsingham learned that he was about to invade England with the biggest navy that ever was seen, and to seize the throne for himself. In 1588 the 'invincible Spanish Armada' set sail from Spain for the Netherlands, whence it was to take the Duke of Parma's troops to help in the conquest of England. On the way thither, an English fleet of half its weight destroyed half of the Spanish fleet. At one blow the greatest naval force in the world was smashed into atoms. England was saved, but who saved her? The English merchant ships (163) were far more numerous but on an average three times as light as the queen's ships (34), and the latter averaged 367 tons each, or half as much again as Henry VIII's ships. The men who handled the merchant ships and taught the merchantmen to fight were the queen's sailor knights.

The queen's sailor knights had been busy trading Foreign
trade,

colonies,
and
factories

and paving the way for colonies overseas France and the Netherlands did the same in a small way, but England led the way In Mary's reign English traders tried vainly to reach China by sailing north of Asia, so as to avoid the Portuguese, and by sailing north of Norway they got as far as Archangel, in Arctic Russia, and then took a river route to the south, leaving the Baltic and Lithuania far on their west, and arrived at Moscow (1553-1554) Europe heard for the first time that the Tsar of Moscow was a great ruler, who had conquered the Mongols on his south-east and had added principedom to principedom, so that his dominions touched the Arctic and Caspian seas, but not the Baltic or the Black seas English-Russian trade began to flourish and factories were set up along this Arctic route, Turks, Poles, Swedes, and the Hanseatic towns on the Baltic and Lake Ilmen making other routes impossible In the same year (1553) voyages were made into West Africa, in order to trade for gold, pepper, and ivory, and Europe heard for the first time that the Portuguese were so few there and so feeble, that, although they fired on strangers, they were almost harmless, French Normans, who had already found this to be the case, having kept the secret to themselves Between 1561 and 1568 Hawkins took slaves from Africa for sale to the Spaniards in the West Indies and on the north coast of South America Here he was on dangerous ground, for he was defying the Spanish law, which treated traders on these shores and seas as pirates Strange to say, he found many Spaniards longing to have some one to smuggle for them, and to take their goods direct to market instead of sending them to join the annual fleet at Havana Then Hawkins thrust his head, so to speak, into the lion's mouth, sent ships with merchandise from the West Indies to Seville, and sailed himself to Vera Cruz, the port of Mexico, with his

slaves His ships which reached Seville were seized, and a great Spanish fleet attacked his little fleet at Vera Cruz, and almost destroyed it, almost—for he and Drake, who was his companion, escaped In revenge for this attack, Drake in 1572 attacked the Spanish towns and caravans on the isthmus of Panama, across which silver used to be brought from Peru to the Spanish fleet, and in 1577 to 1580 he sailed through the Straits of Magellan, raided the west coast of Spanish America, and returned laden with treasures by the Moluccas to England This was the second voyage ever made round the world, and Thomas Cavendish followed his example a few years later (1586–1588) When Spain demanded that these men should be punished for warring in peace time, Elizabeth replied that the Spaniards ‘had drawn these mischiefs on themselves’, by claiming to shut out other Europeans from continents, countless empty islands and vast seas, against the laws of God and man ‘The sea and air’, she said, ‘is common to all’ What these men did amiss to Spaniards should be paid for, after but not before Spaniards paid for what they had done amiss to these men Hawkins, Drake, and Cavendish were fighting for the freedom of the seas, though even in those days Englishmen detested the trade to which Hawkins had stooped Hitherto distant voyages had ended only in trade or in righteous destruction It was about this time that Gilbert, Raleigh, Frobisher, and Grenville devoted themselves to something more than trade, and tried to create what was good, although they were nothing loath to destroy what was bad The idea of a perfect colony overseas began now to take shape

Where men of all classes go to empty or half-empty lands in order to live, multiply, and die there, under the laws and flag of their mother country, that is a perfect colony Frenchmen had already tried to found colonies

Perfect colonies are planted and fail

of this kind in America, Cartier at Quebec (1535), and French Protestants in Brazil (1555) and South Carolina (1562) Winter destroyed the first, the Portuguese the second, and Spaniards at the prompting of the French king slew all the colonists of the third colony, as invaders and heretics (1565) England made the next move, and in 1567 Gilbert drew up a plan, in pursuance of which Frobisher made a vain attempt to sail to China along the north coast of America, in order to avoid Spanish lands, but he got no further than Baffin Land, where he tried but failed to plant a colony In 1583 Gilbert annexed Newfoundland, which was now the meeting-place of the fishermen of Western Europe, but he and his intending colonists returned in the same year, he was wrecked and drowned on the way back, and his proposed colony did not survive him Raleigh planted short-lived colonies in Virginia (1585 to 1590), and exclaimed passionately that his colony would one day be 'a nation' As the Spanish danger grew nearer in Europe, the proposed American colony approached the West Indies, for it was meant also as a base for attacking Spanish colonies, in case war should break out All these colonies were founded by partners or companies, who were allowed to wage war in self defence but not otherwise There was much talk about trade with India and China, about gold and silver, but the main idea was to make a new home across the sea, where simple people might dwell as peacefully as Spaniards and savages would let them All this happened before 1588, which is the crucial year in English colonial history

The East
India Com-
panies of
England
and
Holland
begin
work.

In 1588 the Spanish Armada was shattered, and English colonizers looked eastward as well as westward Portugal was now part of Spain (1580-1640) and the English-Spanish war lasted until 1604. Accordingly James Lancaster carried the Spanish war into the Portu-



SIR WALTER RALEGH

guese East Indies, and waylaid Portuguese ships and cargoes in the Straits of Malacca (1591-1594) Portugal being now part of Spain, and the Spanish-Dutch war lasting until 1609, the Dutch were shut out of their trade with Portugal, and they, too, turned eastward and acted as though they were pupils of the English. First they followed the English to Archangel (1590), and tried vainly to sail to China by the north of Asia (1594-1596), then they made raiding voyages, like Lancaster, to India (1595 to 1598), and three raiding voyages round the world, in the wake of Drake and Cavendish, and with the help of Cavendish's pilot (1598 to 1617). In 1600 the English East India Company was granted a trading monopoly for a term of years, between the Cape of Good Hope on the west and Cape Horn on the east, and with wide powers of making treaties and wars with native princes within their limits. In 1601 the Dutch East India Company were granted the same monopoly between the same places, but with wider powers, and with closer dependence on the provinces and states of Holland. Then the Dutch often led the English, instead of the English leading the Dutch. But still both English and Dutch went to the same places in the same Malay Islands, to Achin (in Sumatra), Bantam (in Java), Sandakan (in Borneo), Macassar (in Celebes), Ternate, Tidore, Banda, and Amboyna (in the Moluccas), both went to the same ports in India—Surat on its north west coast, Misulipatam, Petepoli, and Pulicat on its east coast, and both went later to Bender Abbas, in the Persian Gulf, and to Siam—indeed Dutchmen were only without English rivals in Formosa island (1624), the Hugli river (Chinsurah) (1625), and Mauritius island (1639) for a short time, and in Malacca and Ceylon for about 150 years. Both companies went also to Japan. While the Japanese were expelling Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits monks

and priests from Japan a Dutch ship, piloted by an Englishman named Adams, reached Hirado in Japan, where Dutch (1609) and English (1613) factories were set up. The English factory was closed in 1623, after 1638 the Portuguese traders were expelled, and the Dutchmen were shut up on the tiny island of Deshima, off Nagasaki, like lepers, and were forbidden to perform Christian rites. But for these caged Dutchmen, Japan bolted and barred her doors on every European from 1638 until 1853.

Dutch and
English
differences
show
them-
selves

Dutch and English followed one another like shadows, planting rival factories wherever they went during the seventeenth century, but the Dutch were in greater force than the English, and Dutch and English methods differed. The Dutch company continued its European wars in Asia, calling the Portuguese Spaniards, and attacking them at Goa and Nagasaki without success, and at Malacca, Ceylon, and the Moluccas successfully, and trying with all their might to uproot them utterly. The English company, when attacked by the Portuguese near Surat, fought and won (1612), and being attacked again and again, reluctantly followed up their enemies to Hormuz, which they took, as the ally of its real owner, the Shah of Persia, and with Persian help (1622), otherwise, they left Portuguese settlements alone, and only asked their rivals to treat them as neutrals and equals. In 1635 a truce was patched up between Englishmen and Portuguese, which ripened into treaties (1642, 1654), as soon as Portugal had shaken herself free from Spain (1640), and these treaties proved permanent. As a consequence of these improved relations, English ships carried Portuguese goods through the Straits of Malacca from Macao to Goa, in order to protect them against hostile Dutch fleets (1635), and English forts and factories were built close by Portuguese forts and factories.

at Madras (1639) and Hugh (1650) in order to protect them against the natives. English mediation induced Portugal to cede Ceylon to the Dutch, in exchange for parts of Portuguese Brazil, which Holland had seized (1658 to 1662). The Dutch company claimed the Moluccas as their own land by conquest from the Portuguese, tried to shut out Englishmen from trading there (1612), and put Englishmen to death (at Amboyna), as though the Englishmen there were subjects of the Dutch (1623). Englishmen shut out no one, nor did they claim land, except by treaty with the native rulers, nor did they judge or pretend to govern foreign Europeans. Englishmen went far inland to visit the 'Great Mogul' at Agra in Northern India, where Portuguese and Jesuits vainly opposed them, and planted factories there and at three other inland cities (1608 to 1616). The Great Mogul (or Mongolian) was a descendant of Timur of Samarcand, to whom the dominions of Jagatai, son of Jenghiz, passed, he was Mahommedan and probably more Turkish than Mongolian in race, and he now ruled Northern India with his capital at Agra on the Jumna, and he claimed to rule all India. Like the Portuguese, Englishmen went straight to the fountain-head for what they wanted, and unlike Portuguese and Dutchmen they had inland factories, for the Dutchmen did little but make treaties or wars with smaller princes upon the coast. At last the Dutch hid themselves more and more in tiny islands like the Moluccas, where they became cultivators as well as traders, or in nooks and corners of big islands, like Java, where Batavia became their capital (1619), or like Sumatra, Borneo, Ceylon, and Celebes, and the English company slowly withdrew from the islands and spread over the great sub-continent of India, under the protection of great native kings and princes. But for nearly 150 years British India was a mere network of

factories, and might have been so still had not India, France, and Fate ordained otherwise When we wonder at the energy of the Dutch, we must remember that they never entered the Indian or Pacific Oceans until after Englishmen did so, and until after the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) cleared the way

Perfect
colonies in
America
succeed

The nations of Europe were busy also on the lonely coasts and islands of America The French planted perfect colonies in Canada, at Nova Scotia (1604), and at Quebec, on the river St Lawrence (1608), and the English did the same in Virginia (1607), Newfoundland (1609), the Bermuda Islands (1612), Massachusetts (1620 et seq), the West Indian Islands (after 1623), and Maryland (1632) These colonies were of widely different characters Thus Canada was a narrow river-strip between Montreal, Quebec, and the sea, although Canadian missionaries and trappers wandered among the natives one thousand miles westward The colonists of Canada were Roman Catholics, and were under the absolute rule of their governors, and were fed from Europe The men of Massachusetts were stern Protestants, who founded and federated city after city by the ocean (1620 et seq), and the first comers were Puritans, known as 'the Pilgrim Fathers' The Puritans were Protestants who would not obey the English Acts of Uniformity and left England for their faith's sake, and from the very first they lived as they could, and did almost as they liked in the new land of their choice Maryland, being founded by a Roman Catholic peer, was tolerant, Canada and Massachusetts were intolerant Yet in every case some man or group of men, or company, whose head-quarters were at home, was regarded as owner or ruler of the colony, subject of course to the king, and each colony had certain limits within which the owner or ruler could not be interfered with except

by the king, or the natives, the natives being hunters, few and savage. Meanwhile Dutchmen, piloted by an Englishman, set up factories on the Hudson river (1609), dividing the northern from the southern English colonies on the North American coast, and these factories were the germs of New York State. Hardly had English settlements been made on the West Indian Islands, when Dutchmen and Frenchmen settled there too, sometimes on the same, but usually on different islands, and the Spanish claim to own empty oceans, continents, and islands was broken not by wars or treaties, but simply by many men of many nations living there, nevertheless, these men lived there in danger, especially if they were Protestants, for many years afterwards.

In this age Russia first entered the lonely wastes of ^{Russia and} Siberia. On his south the Russian Tsar (as the Tsar of ^{Siberia} Moscow may now be called) allowed certain Russians, called Cossacks, to live almost like republicans, on condition that they should defend Russia against the Turks and Mongols on the Black Sea. Some of these Cossacks were hired to go north and help an Asiatic chief at 'Sibir', on the river Irtysh, near Tobolsk, against his neighbours. The Cossacks went and won, the neighbours were conquered, and the conquered lands were given to the Russian Tsar (1581 to 1584). Then the Cossacks went further east, warring for others, or hunting on their own account, until there was a chain of posts all over Siberia (as it was now called, after 'Sibir') from Tobolsk to Okhotsk, on the sea of Okhotsk, and back by the Amur to Lake Baikal (1652); so that the Tsar's sway reached the sea of Okhotsk before it reached the Baltic or Black Seas.

On the Baltic Sea, meanwhile, there was strange con- ^{Russia,} fusion. When the German knights became Protestant ^{Scandi-} (1525), the Knights of the Sword, who were their eastern ^{navia,} Poland,

and the
Baltic

neighbours and were subject to them, ceased to exist, and the Baltic Germans called for help to Denmark, Sweden, and Poland against the Lithuanians and Finns in their midst, and the Muscovites who attacked them from the south (1558) Help was given, the Grand Master of the Knights of the Sword became Duke of Courland under the Polish king—Courland being immediately east of East Prussia—and those who helped quarrelled over the other spoils of war There were grave causes for quarrelling Protestantism had severed Denmark from Sweden, not without bloodshed, and Sweden now had Protestant kings of its own of the House of Vasa (1523 et seq) Hanseatic towns had meddled in these quarrels and had been forcibly deprived of their political power and privileges in the Baltic, at the same time as national traders peaceably supplanted them in the Netherlands, England, and elsewhere All Scandinavia became Protestant, while Poland remained Roman Catholic, therefore Poland, Sweden, and Denmark could hardly be expected to agree about the vacant Baltic lands Moreover, three years after the Union of Lublin, which made Lithuania and Poland one country (1569), the Lithuanian-Polish line of kings ended (1572), and the Polish nobles began to elect their kings from anywhere As no election was valid unless every elector voted one way, every election was a scene of violence, bribery, and war In 1583 Sigismund III, heir of the Swedish throne, was elected King of Poland in preference to his fellow competitors, the Tsar and an Austrian archduke He was a Roman Catholic, and soon after he had become Swedish king he was deposed from the Swedish throne by his uncle, who then became Charles IX, King of Sweden Sigismund III argued that Charles IX was a usurper, and the Swedes in reply gave Charles IX a standing army These, then, were the three unfriendly powers who kept

the Muscovites back from the Baltic. The war for the unclaimed Baltic coasts and islands lasted, like some war of a bygone age, for a hundred years, and ended in favour of Sweden (1660). Sweden now owned Finland and the coastal provinces between Finland and Courland—Courland remaining like East Prussia under its duke, whose overlord was the King of Poland—and it also owned the whole of what is now reckoned as Sweden, and all the Baltic islands, except one which it sold to Denmark.

Let the reader note these dates, 1660 and 1661, they have been mentioned twice in the last sections of this chapter. The next chapter will deal with stirring events which happened between 1604 and 1661, but with which what has been described in the last sections of this chapter had very little to do.

The dates
1660-1661

CHAPTER IV

TWO CIVIL WARS AND A DESPOTISM

Two civil wars take place

AFTER 1604, when Queen Elizabeth died, two civil wars broke out in Europe. Either war was full of echoes of the religious struggle of the previous century, otherwise the wars were unlike as unlike could be to one another. The first war is known as 'The Thirty Years' War', and was waged in the Holy Roman Empire (1619 to 1648), the second was the 'Great Rebellion', which took place in the British isles (1638 et seq.) In the first war all the German kingdoms, principedoms, and free towns—more than three hundred in number—and the empire which held them feebly together, were put into the melting pot, and when they were taken out again seemed much the same as they were when they went in, in the second war a lasting victory was won for British freedom, and a transient victory was won for British unity. The Great Rebellion was purely British, the chief soldiers in the Thirty Years' War were foreigners, and half Europe was drawn into the whirlpool which it made. Like the English war, the German war began because the German king would not observe his charters to his subjects.

Grievances about Church property cause civil war in Germany

Notwithstanding the Diet of Augsburg (1555) bishop princes became Protestant from time to time, and Church property passed into Protestant hands in Protestant lands, and the Diet and Supreme Law Court of the empire made idle protests. In 1609 the Protestants also had their grievances, thus the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg rightly claimed a Protestant duchy on the Lower

Rhine (Clèves-Jülich) as heir, a Roman Catholic prince put in a claim, and the emperor seized it, and was only cast out by force. Further wars were averted by agreement between the claimants to divide the duchy—the elector taking Clèves, and the other prince taking Jülich, until the issue of one claimant died out, when the issue of the surviving family should take both. Many prince-doms tolerated subjects of different religions, especially the Protestant Electors of Brandenburg—who made Brandenburg a place of refuge for religious exiles—and the Roman Catholic Kings of Bohemia, and one of the latter gave a charter of toleration (1609), because, Kings of Bohemia being elected and deposed by the ‘Estates’ (as classes who formed the Bohemian National Assembly were called), he could not do otherwise. A few years later the ‘Estates’ chose Ferdinand co-king during the then king’s life, for the same reason as that for which Augustus made Tiberius co-emperor, both co-kings violated the charter, and therefore when Ferdinand, who was now the Emperor Ferdinand II, became sole king, he was duly deposed, and Frederick, the Calvinistic Elector of the Palatinate, was duly elected in his stead (1619). Frederick, encouraged by his father-in-law James I King of England, accepted the offered kingdom, and expected English and French aid, which never came. He only reigned in Prag during one winter, and is therefore known as the Winter King. Ferdinand took up arms (1620), drove Frederick out, expelled Protestants from Bohemia, and seized lands covering more than half the kingdom, on the ground that the owners were Protestant rebels (1622–1623). He also declared that kingship in Bohemia was not elective, but belonged of right to the head of the House of Habsburg (1627). He overran the Palatinate with the help of Spaniards and Bavarians, in whose hands its lands were left. The

great North German Protestant princes held aloof or helped their emperor

Denmark
takes part

In 1623 the King of Denmark, who was also Duke of Holstein, Holstein being part of the empire, came to the rescue of some smaller Protestant princes, who had taken Frederick's part. Two years later the emperor made Count Wallenstein, who had grown rich on the spoils of Bohemia, a kind of dictator with power to levy armies and to negotiate on behalf of Germany. Large hired armies, consisting of southern Slavs, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Protestants, and others, were raised by Wallenstein, and he drove the Danes out of Germany, seized parts of the Baltic coast, levied money wherever he went, became Duke of Mecklenburg, and called himself 'General of the Baltic Sea', wishing, as he said, to unite the Spanish Habsburgs of the Netherlands by sea to the Austrian Habsburgs in order to humble Holland, which was once more warring against its Spanish neighbours (1628). In 1629 the emperor ordered all German Church property which had been transferred to Protestants since 1552 to be restored to the Roman Catholics, in accordance with what he supposed to be the meaning of the Diet of Augsburg.

Sweden
and France
take part

Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, dashed into Pomerania in order to save the Baltic Sea and the German Protestants, but especially the Baltic Sea, from the Habsburgs (1630). Having patched up brief truces with Poland, he forced Saxony and Brandenburg to help him, smashed the Austrians and their allies at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig (1631), raised the southern Protestants, and drove the enemy out of such parts of Germany as lay outside of the old Roman empire and west of the Austrian archduchies, flew north again, and perished in the hour of his greatest victory at Lützen near Leipzig (1632). Europe was startled. It

hardly knew Sweden, yet Sweden now did with ease in a few months what France and England had long thought of doing and had not dared to do. It was as though some dim northern star had suddenly shone so brightly that the brightest known stars looked dim beside it. From 1633 to 1648 Swedes, or ill-paid armies hired by Swedes, marched to and fro through Germany and lived upon the unhappy peasants. So did the hired ill paid armies led by Wallenstein (until 1634) and his successors. Germany was trampled under foot by the rival armies. Meanwhile Spaniards were still in the Palatinate or near it on the Upper Rhine, and in 1633 a new body of Spaniards, marching from Italy to the Netherlands, took part in the fray. France then came upon the scene, not as enemy of the empire or of the Roman Catholics, but as enemy of the Habsburgs, and occupied Trier and Lorraine for a time, and seized (or helped to seize) parts of Elsass and two towns on the east bank of the Rhine. A Habsburg-French war smouldered along the Rhine from Switzerland to the Netherlands and thence to the neighbourhood of Calais. The old Dutch-Spanish wars revived also (1621 to 1648), Frederick Henry, son of William the Silent, winning victories by land, and Van Tromp beating the Spanish fleet in the English Channel near Deal (1639), so that the Spanish Netherlands were between two fires, Dutch and French.

In 1648, when two-thirds of the German people had perished, this long confused war ended. The Peace of Westphalia, which concluded this war, is the first great European treaty which settled what a great war had unsettled. Emperor, German States, France, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, Pope, and Venice took part in it. By it foreigners got their first footing in Germany. France was allowed to keep what it had seized or helped

The Peace
of West-
phalia ends
the civil
war

to seize (such as Elsass), and obtained a right to meddle in German politics in the future in order to safeguard the treaty. Sweden got Western Pomerania, which it held as a fief of the empire in the same way as Denmark held Holstein, Brandenburg's title to Eastern Pomerania (1637) was admitted, the Duke of Bavaria became an elector, and Brandenburg, Saxony, and Bavaria were enlarged. Holland and Switzerland were at last declared free countries. The empire was weakened, its princes and cities being allowed to make their own treaties and wars so long as they did not injure the empire. Church property which had passed into Protestant hands before 1624 was left to its present owners, and private worship was allowed to Lutherans, Calvinists, and Roman Catholics, but these last-named provisions did not apply to the Austrian archduchies, duchies, and kingdoms. It seems as though that which since 1866 we call Austria-Hungary were already looked on as something different from that which since 1870 we call Germany.

France
becomes
despotic

During these events France was under three kings, Henry IV (1589 to 1610), Louis XIII (1610 to 1643), and Louis XIV, but Henry was easy going, and the two Louis became kings when children, therefore the real rulers of France were three ministers, the Protestant Sully (1596 to 1610), the great Cardinal Richelieu (1616-1617, 1624-1642), and his pupil Cardinal Mazarin (1643-1661). Sully built canals, bridges, and roads, and saved £2,000,000 of money. Between 1617 and 1624 the French ministry seized Protestant Church property and alarmed the Protestants, who rebelled. The two hundred Protestant forts were destroyed, including La Rochelle, which the English unwisely helped to defend. Then Richelieu (1624 et seq.) restored tolerancè, and incurred debts in creating a small French fleet (1627) and a great French army, which debt Mazarin increased by suc-

cessful wars against the Habsburgs, gaining districts on the north east of France from the Spanish Netherlands, and the greater part of Lorraine from the empire (1659) Under Sully Canada began to exist, Richelieu entrusted it to a great French company which he formed Sully helped agriculture and industry; which Richelieu and Mazarin overtaxed Owing to the gold and silver of the Far West prices went up almost threefold, so that two dollars and a half bought the bread (1648) which one dollar used to buy (1570) At the same time state debts went up more than tenfold, and state expenditure nearly fivefold, yet between 1615 and 1789 the National Assembly of France (or 'States General') never met The poverty of the poor and the exemptions of the rich produced riots and small rebellions on the part of the taxpayers between 1649 and 1654, but these were easily subdued Richelieu appointed censors of the press, and sent out from Paris 'Intendants' who looked after finance, police, and justice in the provinces and in the colonies The whole machinery of state centralized in Paris, and before 1661 the king or minister at Paris ruled France absolutely No one was heard to complain, not because no one complained but because no one dared or was able to make his complaints heard

High prices, which helped to make the French king absolute, limited or suspended the king's power in England The king wanted more money, which Parliament would not grant because its kings were no longer trusted Henry VII and Elizabeth were thrifty, Henry VIII, like every Protestant prince and some Roman Catholic princes, grew rich by plundering monasteries, and Mary had Spanish gold Tudor kings and queens did things in a grand way, and Henry's, Edward's, and Elizabeth's harshness was put down to necessity, and Mary's 'blood and fire' to

England
passes
from Tudor
to Stuart
kings

Spanish cruelty The Tudors met their Parliaments face to face, and their Parliaments went with them Of the Stuart kings—James I (1603 to 1625), Charles I (1625 to 1649), Charles II (1649 or 1660 to 1685), and James II (1685 to 1688)—the first was learned, the second pious, the third witty, and the fourth energetic, the first should have been a schoolmaster, the second a clergyman, the third a rake, and the fourth a subordinate, but fate made them kings, and as kings they behaved like mean men, they could never act, see or think straight, they shirked duty and shunned Parliament, and they crushed lawful freedom, which therefore gained through them more than it had ever gained since the reigns of King John and King Henry III Under the first two Stuarts colonies and factories went on as before, but Raleigh was treated cruelly, and several grants were made to trade in the East Indies, and to colonize Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, which might have caused trouble, because they conflicted with earlier grants

James I
rules
Scotland

James I did one great thing for England He united England and Scotland under one head, with one foreign policy, and henceforth, in the words of Protector Somerset and of James, Englishmen and Scotchmen became Britons After James became King of Scotland (1567), he pinned his faith to two doctrines known as 'the divine right of kings' and 'no bishop no king' The Scotch people, being Calvinists, governed their Church by elders ('presbyters') and general assemblies instead of by bishops James, however, appointed bishops, who did not meddle much in Church affairs The Scotch so-called Parliament, which consisted of three 'Estates' or classes—Church, nobles, and what may be called Commons—could not discuss laws, except those which a committee of the three Estates put before it, and James arranged that the committee should consist of



CHARLES I
From the portrait by Daniel Mytens in the
National Portrait Gallery

twenty-four men, who were chosen thus the bishops chose eight nobles who chose eight bishops, and these sixteen chose eight commoners. As James appointed all the bishops he controlled the whole committee, and therefore the whole Scotch Parliament became like clay in his hands by means of this childlike deep device. He was shrewd, but something more than shrewdness was wanted to deal with the foreign policy of England and with the English Parliament.

In 1603 Raleigh, the last and latest left of Elizabeth's sailor knights, was tried and condemned to death on trivial evidence for conspiring *with Spain against James*, and James reprieved but did not pardon him, and kept him in prison. Between 1610 and 1621 James held no Parliament, except for two months, and after 1612 his only ministers were worthless young men. Between 1615 and 1623 he tried to marry his son Charles I to a Spanish princess, and began to rely more and more on Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at his Court. Meanwhile Raleigh, through his prison-bars, saw visions and dreamed dreams of colonies overseas, more especially of Guiana, which was the latest colony that he had tried to found (1594-1595), and which lay on or near the Orinoco river, somewhere behind those northern coasts of South America which Columbus had first sighted. Untold gold was supposed to abound in Guiana, but Guiana could only be reached by those seas and shores which Spain guarded more jealously than the daughters of Night guarded the golden apples in the Greek fable. James's little soul loved gold and hated Raleigh, so he shrewdly promised pardon to Raleigh if he would bring back half a ton of gold from Guiana without entering Spanish land (1616). The voyage was a piteous failure, James told Gondomar of the scheme, and Gondomar told James that Guiana was

James
offends the
English
Parliament

Spanish land, and, sure enough, Spaniards were met upon the shore. A fight ensued, and when Raleigh came back, Gondomar asked for his head, according, as he said, to James's promise. So James revoked his reprieve of 1603, and in 1618 Raleigh was executed for the crime imputed to him in 1603, which crime was by a strange irony of fate that he was plotting *with* Spain *against* James! Nor was this the only occasion when James acted as a British king should not act. When the Elector Frederick, James's son-in-law, was driven out of his Palatinate, 'No king upon earth', he screamed out, 'should prevent him from defending his children' (1620), this at all events sounded brave, but James did nothing, and trusted, or said he trusted, that the King of Spain would restore Frederick! In 1620 he actually agreed with Spain that Holland, after all her sufferings, should be divided between Spain and England! Again, when Parliament met in 1621, Pym, Wentworth, and other members of the House of Commons complained of James's Spanish policy, and Gondomar insolently bade James punish their 'sedition', hinting that if James did not do so Spain would, and James, instead of sending Gondomar then and there back to Spain, ordered the Commons not to discuss these matters. The Commons then made their famous 'Protest' that the 'liberties' of the Commons were 'the birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England', and that no member of the House should be punished for what he said in the House except by the House! The king sent for the Journals of the House, and, like some angry child, publicly tore out the page on which this 'Protest' was written, then he dissolved Parliament and imprisoned its leading members. Englishmen distrusted James I because he clung to the Spanish king and betrayed Protestants abroad, and feared his

own Parliament and bullied it at the bidding of foreigners

It may be asked, how did this much-distrusted king live if prices rose and he dared not meet Parliament? The king's income may be summed up thus — (1) *Special Subsidy* a direct tax something like our Income Tax (2) *Benevolence* a forced gift or loan (3) *Tonnage and Poundage* or certain Customs Duties granted to a new king during his whole reign (4) *Other Customs Duties* (5) *Ship-money* or money for fitting out ships (6) *Other Benevolences* free gifts or loans for which the king begged (7) *Feudal Dues* or money in lieu of feudal services to the king

How James's income was raised ✓

The first two could only be given or refused by Parliament, the last two were clearly the king's property, and the rest were doubtful. James claimed that the fourth and fifth belonged to him, and not being ashamed to beg, he lived largely on the sixth source of income. Parliament gave him Tonnage and Poundage for his life, but usually refused special subsidies, because it never knew whether they were to be used for or against France, Holland, or Spain in case of war, and languid wars broke out against Spain (1625 to 1630) and France (1627 to 1629), the causes of which had most to do with Charles's rejection by a Spanish princess, and Charles's marriage with the French princess Henrietta Maria, and therefore did not interest the nation.

Charles I was the heir of his father's misdeeds, and was therefore only given Tonnage and Poundage for a year. So he levied Tonnage and Poundage, Ship money, and the like, without leave of Parliament, and imprisoned men like Eliot, Hampden, and Wentworth, who would not pay. In 1628 Parliament addressed to the king a 'Petition of Right', declaring that taxes not granted by Parliament were illegal, to

Charles I offends the English Parliament

which after many shifts Charles assented, but he went on levying Customs Duties and Ship money as before, saying that they were not taxes, and he lived without Parliament from 1629 to 1640. Charles's chief adviser was Archbishop Laud, who was the last priest-statesman in English history. Laud was a High Church Protestant (not a Papist as some men wrongly called him), and construed the Church ritual sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity as a drill sergeant construes his drill book. He enforced his views by means of the Star Chamber—a criminal court which was created or re-created by Henry VII to punish crimes against the state—and the High Commission Court, which was created by Elizabeth, "to punish" Protestants who did not observe the Act of Uniformity. Both courts were presided over by ministers or others whom the king appointed, and neither court had juries. Laud and eleven fellow commissioners also controlled the colonies, into which they wished to introduce the same Church rites with the same intolerance. Indeed, Laud inspired in England and in English colonies a dislike of bishops unlike anything before or since. Then Scotland and Ireland made their weight felt.

Charles
cruses a
Scotch
war, 1638

In Scotland Charles revived Courts of High Commission in order to enforce the Church ritual which he favoured (1634), altered the Church services on his own authority (1635), and denounced men who petitioned against these services as traitors. So in 1638 the Scotch Protestants made a 'National Covenant' to defend their faith, and war began. Charles asked the English Parliament for money to fight Scotland, but Pym defended Scotland (1640). Later in the year the 'Long Parliament' met, passed an Act that it should remain sitting as long as it chose—hence its name of Long Parliament—abolished the Star Chamber,

the Court of High Commission, and the powers of Convocation and of Church courts over men who were not priests, and made illegal all the king's claims to tax without the consent of Parliament. It prevented kings from dismissing judges who decided against their claims, and simpler taxes were introduced. Laud and Wentworth (now Lord Strafford and Lord Deputy of Ireland) were accused by Parliament of treason and executed. Charles consented to these things, telling Strafford 'upon the word of a king' that he should not suffer, and a few days later signing his death warrant.

The blind rage of Parliament against Wentworth, Ireland revolts who since 1632 had stood by the king, was due to the knowledge that whatever he did he did thoroughly, and to a fear that he was going to bring over an Irish army to help the king. From 1633 to 1640 Wentworth had been trying to make Irishmen obey English law, which as yet very few Irishmen had done. When Henry VIII tried to make Ireland English (1541), he only succeeded in the eastern half of Leinster, which is the easternmost of the four provinces of Ireland, the other three provinces, Ulster in the north, Munster in the south, and Connaught in the west, being occupied by Celtic tribes under tribal chiefs, who owned the king as their king, but rarely obeyed his laws, and rebelled from time to time. When rebellions happened, Philip and Mary, Elizabeth and James seized the rebels' lands—deeming the lands the property of the chiefs and not of the tribes—and settled King's and Queen's County in Leinster, parts of Munster, and all Ulster with British colonists. Many of the older English settlers were Roman Catholic, most of them allowed Roman Catholic Irishmen to till their soil, and all the wild Irishmen were also Roman Catholic. Therefore when

Wentworth tried to enforce English laws against Roman Catholics, that meant war by governors against governed Irishmen flew to arms (1641), massacred English men, women, and children, and set up an Irish government of their own at Kilkenny (1642). The English Parliament declared that the rebels' lands were forfeited, Wentworth got together an army of ten thousand men to oppose them, and it was suspected that he was about to yield to the Roman Catholics, and to lead this army into England, in order to save his master, like some English Wallenstein.

Civil War
begins,
1642 to
1646

Charles had no standing army, and after Wentworth's death he called out the militia—that is to say, English country folk liable to be called to arms in case of invasion, but his Parliament had already secured most of their arms and some of their leaders (1642). Civil war began, in 1642 the two Houses of the English Parliament appointed a 'Joint Committee' composed of fifteen of their members to see to 'the safety of the Kingdom, the defence of the Parliament, and . the peace of the Kingdom', in 1643 the English Parliament made a 'Solemn League and Covenant' with the Scotch Covenanters to uphold Scotch Presbyterianism, and to bring the English into line with the Scotch Church, and in 1644 the English Committee of Safety was superseded by an English Scotch Joint Committee, the English Parliament appointing twenty-one and the Scotch Parliament appointing four of its members. The old and the new Committees of Safety ruled the nation, and the new committee united Scotland and England with one another. {In 1645 a 'new Model Army' was raised, the officers of which swore to observe this 'Solemn Covenant', but the army, though Protestant, distrusted presbyters even more than it distrusted bishops, and appointed an Army Council to protect their political

interests This council was the ultimate ruling force in England so long as the army existed (1646 to 1660), and the Presbyterian Parliament and Protestant army thenceforth pulled different ways The civil war, which ended in 1646 with the surrender of the king, brought to light many generals and statesmen on the Parliamentary side, among whom Oliver Cromwell towered supreme, and only one general on the Royalist side, Prince Rupert, son of the Winter King, and therefore Charles's nephew After 1646 Charles I intrigued with Ireland, Scotland, Parliament, and the Army Council, there was a small Scotch-English war, and at last England tried its king for attempting 'to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation' The offence was new, but the trial was stately, and though illegal observed old forms of law. The king was calm and dignified at the trial and on the block, where he met the doom, which a few men thought deserved and most men thought inevitable (1649) The House of Commons then declared that kingship and the House of Lords were no more, and appointed a 'Council of State' composed mainly of its own members, who carried on the business of government

[After the king's death Scotland and Ireland declared for King Charles II. Cromwell conquered Ireland (1649 to 1650) and the Scotch Royalists (1650 to 1652), and Charles II went 'on his travels', as he quaintly said (1651 to 1660) The lands of so called Irish 'rebels' were seized, including lands of English and Scotch settlers in Tudor and Stuart times, and two-thirds of Ireland are said to have changed hands (1653 et seq). Pure Irishmen were driven, or ordered to be driven, into Connaught, and the rest of Ireland was reserved for the conquering army or for new colonists Many Royalists

New
Scotch and
Irish wars
begin, 1649
to 1653

went to Barbados in the West Indies, where there were Royalists already who had just made their peace with the English Parliament (1652), and there they proved excellent colonists

A new
constitu-
tion is
made, 1653

In 1653 army men broke up those who were left of the Long Parliament—its tail-end or 'Rump', so to speak, which called itself a Parliament, tried to invent a new constitution, and failed hopelessly. Then the council of the army prepared an 'Instrument of Government') declaring Cromwell 'Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland' for his life, an Executive 'Council' of twenty one members or less—not unlike the Committee of Safety—was created, a new Parliament was ordered, and future Parliaments were to be elected every three years. 'Protector of the Realm' was Somerset's title one hundred years previously, and he, too, had a council of about the same number (26), but in Somerset's case there was an infant king, in Cromwell's case there was no king, though the idea of king persisted. Somerset had prophetic visions of Great Britain. Even so, thirty members for Scotland, and thirty members for Ireland, sat in the new British Parliament in London. Under 'the Instrument' Cromwell had no power to veto the laws which Parliament made, and had to swear to observe the new constitution. On his own authority he made members of Parliament 'declare' that they would not alter the present control of the army and militia, or violate tolerance, or make themselves perpetual. In 1657 a 'Petition' by Parliament, approved by the Army Council and by Cromwell, authorized Cromwell to name his successor, and restored a House of Lords. These three documents—the 'Instrument', 'Declaration', and 'Petition'—sketched what modern writers would call a 'Law of the Constitution' binding



OLIVER CROMWELL

From the miniature by Samuel Cooper belonging to
the Duke of Buccleuch, K G

on Parliament, but Parliament was intolerant, tried to control both army and militia, and would never allow that anything could bind it or that anything lay outside its power. Cromwell, standing as he did between the Army Council and Parliament, battling with the extreme republicans in both, working with, through, and in spite of both, and going his own way fearlessly and successfully, showed the highest statesmanlike genius which any living man had seen. In his naval and foreign policy the men of words as well as the men of might supported Cromwell.

In the five remaining years of Cromwell's life (1653-1658) five questions troubled him—the navy, France, Holland, Portugal, and Spain. Charles I's Royal Navy, thanks to Ship-money, consisted of 18 ships, and 34 hired merchant ships, under the Commonwealth the merchant ships were put under naval officers in times of war, 218 new state ships were built averaging 380 tons each, and the English fleet entered the Mediterranean for the first time and subdued Moorish pirates at Tunis and Algiers. Its entry into the Mediterranean was due to Prince Rupert, who now turned privateer, and sought refuge there and at Lisbon. Portugal was forced to disown Rupert and to recognize the English colonies (1654), and began at Cromwell's request to recognize Dutch colonies (1658 et seq.) in the Far East. A brief English-French war led to the first English-Dutch war, which was also the first purely naval war in history, ships only and no armies being used (1652-1654). The Dutch went to war because the British seized French goods in Dutch ships, in the same way as the Dutch used to seize Portuguese goods in Chinese ships during Dutch-Portuguese wars. The Dutch fleet, ever since its naval battle near Deal (1639), was deemed the mightiest in Europe, yet the English Admiral (formerly Colonel)

Cromwell
deals with
the navy
and foreign
affairs

Blake was victorious, and the Dutch had to pay for that outrage on the British at Amboyna (1623) which no Stuarts had dared to avenge. There was yet another unpaid Stuart debt, so to speak. The Stuarts had made two treaties with Spain (1604, 1630), in neither of which was anything said about the right of Englishmen to occupy empty West Indian islands, or to sail on the seas in those parts. Spain had recently seized English ships and sailors in or near the West Indies, and had treated them as pirates, so Cromwell seized Jamaica (1655) far more violently and suddenly than Raleigh seized, or tried to seize, Guiana, and Admiral Blake attacked and sank the Spanish silver fleet on its yearly trip from America to Seville (1657). The English-Spanish war dragged on until 1660, and Dunkirk, a fortress on the coast of the Spanish Netherlands, was won with French help (1658), but was afterwards sold by Charles II to France (1662). Jamaica, however, was held by Charles II with the consent of Spain (1670). The war, if it could be called war, ceased when Cromwell died (1658).

Charles II
is restored,
1660

After Cromwell's death the divisions between Parliament and army grew wider and there was no great man to bridge the gap. Charles II was therefore restored to the throne of his father by General Monk, who was one of Cromwell's men. So the civil war and the Commonwealth ended, and England, Scotland, and Ireland regained their separate Parliaments. Bishops returned, ousted the presbyters and others who had ousted them, and were as intolerant as those whom they ousted. But the main works of the Commonwealth survived. Parliament had done away with feudal tenures of land, had passed Navigation Acts which forbade goods to be imported except in English or colonial ships or in ships of the country from which

the goods came, had levied simple taxes both direct and indirect (Excise and Customs) which none else might levy, and the new reign continued this policy. Charles II was resolved, as he said, not to be sent on his travels again, so he always swam with the stream except when he thought that he was not observed. Under the Commonwealth small committees of Parliament or of the Council of State controlled every branch of Government with vigour and wisdom, even so, after 1660 small committees of the Privy Council (which afterwards became the Cabinet) began to rule the state, and Councils of Trade and Plantations (which afterwards became the Board of Trade and Colonial Office) began to control trade and the colonies. The example of the Great Rebellion sank deeply into men's minds, 'money and Church rites were regarded as the mere visible points of the real rock on which the ship of state had split, the real rock being the 'ancient laws and liberties'. The rebels in the civil wars of England, Scotland, and Ireland preserved intact their deep respect for history, and made political intelligence more vivid, and the three kingdoms more united and more self-reliant.

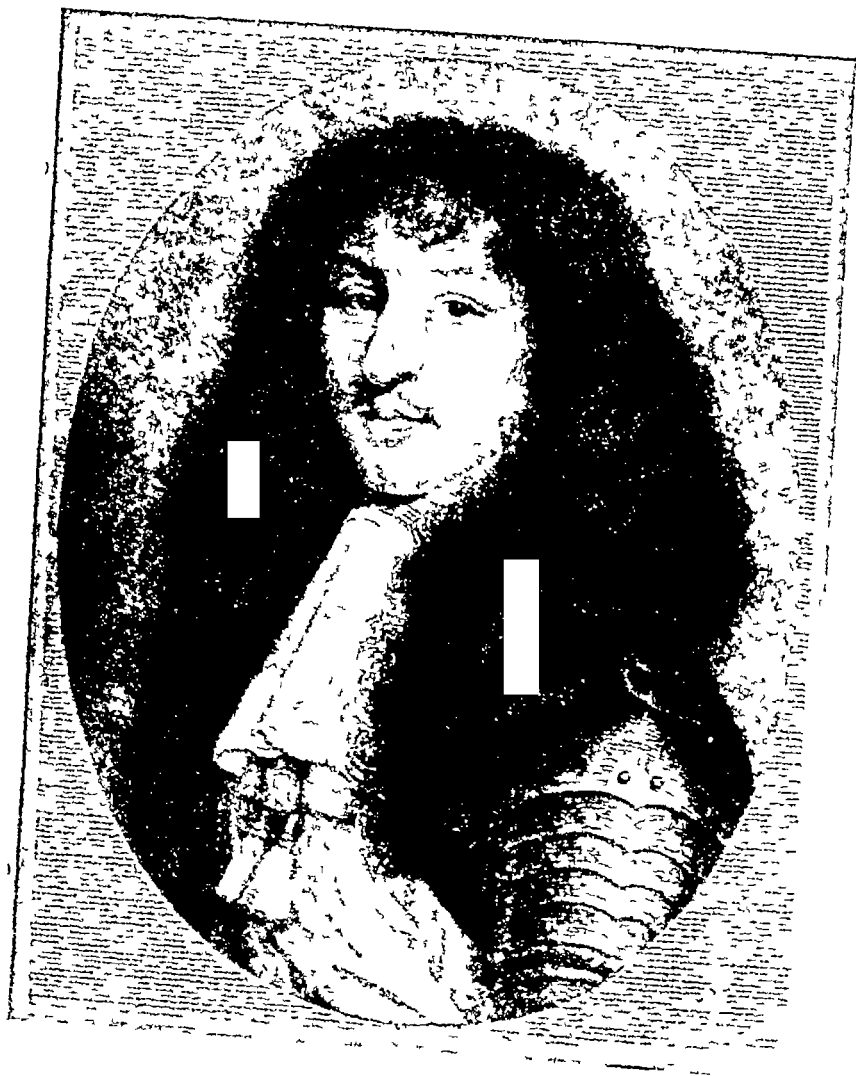
Germans slew one another with the help of others, Summary,
the French became strong and went to sleep, and the
English roused themselves and became strong without
the help of others.

CHAPTER V

FOUR KINGS THEIR WARS AND THEIR COLONIES

Of the
four
kings who
never met

THIS chapter may be entitled the story of two wars which had nothing to do with one another, and of four warrior kings—Louis XIV of France (1643 to 1715), William III of Holland (1672 et seq), and England (1688 to 1701), Charles XII of Sweden (1687 to 1718), and Peter the Great of Russia (1612 to 1725), although Louis was always fighting William, and Charles was always fighting Peter, the warrior kings of my fifth chapter never met and feasted, as did the warrior kings of my second chapter. Each of these kings made his country great in Europe, and China knew Peter and Louis, India and Canada knew Louis and William, and Louis, Peter, and Charles were absolute rulers. William III, great-grandson and heir of William the Silent, grandson of Charles I of England, and husband of Mary, daughter of James II of England, was, like all his ancestors, a good general and a wise patriot, Charles XII was brought up on peasant's fare, was a great general at the age of eighteen, and lived the rest of his short life amid scenes of woe, war, fire, frost, and famine, Peter the Great lived, too, like a labouring man, but was drunken and dissolute at times, and by his savage energy and untiring patience in peace and war lifted Russia up to the level of European nations. Louis XIV was the perfect gentleman, who lived in a rich court all his days, and whose politeness was almost grand. His voice and figure were superb. he never forgot those who helped



Louis XIV

•

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1

him, however feebly, he never remembered that fallen great men had fallen, he was faithful to his allies and generous to his foes. He said 'one must work hard to reign', and after 1661 it was truly said of him that he 'was the state', France being like some splendid machine which he alone drove. He chose all his ministers with unerring judgement from the middle classes. He wished to make France strong, orderly, and glorious. His army was, in 1672, 180,000, and in 1715, 450,000, his warships were, in 1661, 20, and in 1677, 270 in number. In 1667 and 1682 he invented a model system of police. The result of his countless alliances and wars was that French frontiers were a little larger and much more convenient than before. At one time he wished, like Francis I, to be elected emperor, and, like Charles V, to head a crusade against the Turks, and he and his courtiers talked big and vague words about Frenchmen being the only Romans, and about the French king being the only heir of Charlemagne. But what he did was always on the small scale, and very practical, and he took only a few sure steps in his stately way.

Louis XIV's first step was taken in 1667. The last Louis XIV of the two Philips, who had succeeded Philip II of France of Spain—each Philip being more dismal than his pre-war wars decessor—had just died, and an idiot king had just suc- against William, &c, 1661 ceeded (1665 to 1700). Louis XIV immediately claimed to 1685 three duchies or counties of the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, a daughter of the last Philip, and marched through two of these counties, Flanders and Franche Comté, with his army, and almost without resistance. Meanwhile, during the early years of William III's life, the chief men of Holland were the De Witt brothers, and they patched up an alliance with the King of Sweden and with Charles II, King of

England, and bade Louis XIV begone Surprised at what he deemed the insolence of so small a state (not even a monarchy !) Louis yielded (1668), keeping, however, the parts of Flanders which he already held , and he bade his ministers break up the hostile alliance, which they did Indeed, Charles II of England by a secret treaty (1670) actually agreed to help Louis XIV against Holland, Louis XIV agreeing to pay him a large salary, and to help him to make England Roman Catholic again, for Charles was a half-hearted Roman Catholic, and a whole-hearted lover of ease and pleasure, and quite shameless In 1672 Louis invaded Holland in order to punish it for its insolence towards so great a king as he was , the brothers De Witt were defenceless, and were killed by a Dutch mob , dikes were opened, and large tracts of land were flooded Then William III, who was now twenty-two years of age, came to the rescue, and called for help, which some German states gave , so that at last, in 1678, Louis XIV made peace, and his right to keep Franche Comté was admitted Thenceforth William III hated France with an undying hatred In and shortly after 1681 Louis XIV occupied and, as he said, 're-united' such parts of Elsass and Lorraine as did not already belong to France , but these parts of Lorraine were given back in 1697, and were regained by France in 1738 In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked , French Protestants swarmed over the frontiers of France into Prussia, England, Holland, and elsewhere , and William III began to fear that Louis XIV had some big plan to destroy Protestantism outside as well as inside France by force

England
and Scot-
land are
threatened
by a

In 1685 James II, an avowed Roman Catholic, became King of England, and became popular by defeating a Protestant rising under Charles II's natural son, the Duke of Monmouth Mary had become popular from

the same sort of cause in 1553. Then, like Mary, he became over confident, and 'dispensed with' or suspended such laws as prevented Roman Catholics from being officers or officials, and made them officers and officials. So Englishmen invited William and Mary to come over and help them, and they came. James fled, throwing the royal seal into the Thames out of childish spite. William and Mary became king and queen (1688) and a 'Convention Parliament' passed a 'Declaration of Rights' and a 'Bill of Rights' (1689). A Convention is an Assembly, which would be a Parliament if it had been summoned by a king, a Bill would be an Act if a king assented to it, therefore it being as yet uncertain who, if any one, was king, the Parliament called itself a Convention, and called its Acts Bills. The 'Declaration of Rights' and 'Bill of Rights' not only repeated the claims made by those old 'Petitions of Right' and the like, which have been mentioned, but also forbade the king to be a Roman Catholic, or to 'dispense with' or suspend laws, or to keep standing armies—a small standing army having been kept together ever since the Commonwealth. Annual Acts have been passed every year ever since 1689, providing for such standing army as might be necessary for the year. Toleration and a free Press became law (1689-1690), judges were made irremovable, and, lastly, the Act of Settlement (1701) settled the crown after William and Mary's deaths on Mary's sister Anne, and then on the Hanoverian line of kings—the first of whom was grandson of the Winter King, and therefore great-grandson of James I—excluding, however, Roman Catholics. This Act of Settlement alarmed the Scotch Parliament, for Scotchmen hated bishops, whom Charles II had restored (1662), clung to Presbyterianism, which William III set up once more (1690), and refused to settle the Scotch

Roman Catholic king, 1685

crown upon Protestants, who for aught they knew might restore bishops. So the English threatened that, if the Scotch Parliament would not pass the Act of Settlement, they would treat Scotchmen as foreigners, and would not allow Scotchmen to send their goods to English markets. At last guarantees were given that Scotch Presbyterianism should continue, £400,000 was given by England to compensate Scotch 'vested interests', and the Scotch gave up their separate Parliament, and sent members to what was thenceforth called the Parliament of Great Britain (1707). This had long been William III's wish, but Mary and he were dead, and Anne, sister of Mary, was now queen (1702-1714).

Great
Britain is
created

English Parliaments and kings had struggled against one another for four hundred years, and Parliament won its last crowning success in 1688. Ever since then English kings have been obedient to the constitution. They have only been obliged to be Protestants because in this last struggle the king attacked Parliamentary freedom as the champion of Roman Catholicism. They have also been Kings of Great Britain because Scotland, in order to make sure that both its Protestantism and its trade with England should continue, could only do so by fulfilling Protector Somerset's dream and Protector Cromwell's scheme, and by forming along with England one country under one flag, with one king and with one Parliament.

The great
war be-
gins, 1688

In the year 1688 the whole of Western Europe plunged into one of its long confused wars out of which no issue was possible, except some big final treaty, which was only made in 1713. In 1688 Louis XIV invaded the Western or Rhenish Palatinate on behalf of his sister-in-law, who claimed it as granddaughter of the Winter King, and helped James II to invade Ireland. James II was soon beaten by William III, and for the

third time in one century Irish lands changed hands. The emperor, though at that time fighting his last fight against the Turks, took up arms on behalf of the Palatinate, and England and Holland joined him. Each had a different reason. Louis XIV urged his rights of succession, the empire complained of invasion, England resented the support given to James II, and Holland feared that 'the Great Monarch', as Louis was called, would attack the Spanish Netherlands, and it preferred the idiot King of Spain as its neighbour.

After nine years of war there was a brief peace in 1697, but war broke out again, when in 1700 the Spanish king died childless after naming Louis XIV's grandson, Philip, as successor to all the Spanish possessions Louis XIV's issue were, after all, the nearest relatives of the dead king, although there were Austrian Habsburgs who thought themselves still nearer; and Philip was chosen by the Spaniards because it was thought, and rightly thought, that Philip would never inherit the French crown. But the cry went forth that Philip might inherit both crowns, and William III took up the cause of the Habsburg archduke Charles, who in the end became emperor, and under whom, therefore, there was a serious danger that Charles V's immense kingdoms would come to life again. If therefore, the prevention of one king having too many kingdoms—or, as it was called, the maintenance of the Balance of Power—was the motive which made William III take the Habsburg side, he was not justified. William III's English Parliament joined passionately in the war, because when James II died (1701) Louis XIV, although he had in 1697 agreed to look on William III as King of England, and on Anne as William's lawful successor, received James II's young son as though he were king. According to many good writers, this last act was only an act

The great war begins again 1701.

of politeness to the unfortunate boy, whom Louis did not like to remind of his misfortunes at so sad a time, and if this view is right, the English Parliament, too, was misled on matters of fact. The Habsburgs fought because they denied the right of the dead king to leave his kingdom by will.

The Treaty
of Utrecht
concludes
the great
war, 1713

In the war of the Spanish Succession, as it is called, Louis was, in the words of his motto, 'one against many', and England contributed to his allied enemies vast sums of money, about twenty thousand men, and the Duke of Marlborough, who was the ablest general in the war. The emperor's troops, under Prince Eugene, overran the valley of the Po, and tried to invade France by way of Savoy. Marlborough's base was in Belgium, but his greatest victory was at Blenheim, three hundred miles away, on the Upper Danube, whither he had hurried with amazing secrecy and suddenness in order to save Austria from a French invasion. The Peace of Utrecht, which brought the long war to a close (1713), was the second great solemn treaty in European history to which all the Western European powers assented. Under its provisions Philip remained King of Spain, but the Spanish parts of Italy and the Netherlands were transferred or re-transferred to the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg. French claims on the Palatinate were renounced, England got the fortified rock of Gibraltar at the entrance to the Mediterranean, a limited right to trade with Spanish America, and a slave trading monopoly to which I shall refer later on.

Louis XIV
dies, 1715

Louis XIV died soon afterwards (1715), having, in the words of Fénelon, 'built his throne on the ruin of all classes'. His reign only seems glorious when it is looked at from outside. He rounded off the French frontiers, and established peace and unity at home, but at the cost of freedom. Taxes were higher than they

had ever been, although the highest classes hardly paid any taxes. There was no Parliament through which those who were miserable could give voice to their misery. No National Assembly ever met, the Press was not free, sighs were stifled, and French kings called their people happy because no moans were heard.

The year in which Austrian victories made the Turks cease to attack Europe was 1697, and the year in which Russia made its first attack upon the Turks was 1695. Turkey used to receive tribute from the Mongolian Turks, whom Jenghiz and Batu left behind them in the south of Russia, and the Mongolian Turks claimed tribute from the Tsar. Peter the Great therefore attacked the Turks of Azov, at the mouth of the river Don, failed for want of a fleet (1695), sent for naval experts from Western Europe, set 26,000 Russian peasants to cut timber during winter in the forests of the Don, built a fleet, sailed down the Don and took Azov in the following year (1696). Then he went to Europe, learned shipbuilding by working like a day labourer in English and Dutch docks, tried vainly to make the great powers join him in an attack on Turkey by sea and land (1697), and then returned to quell a Russian mutiny with brutal cruelty. His mind still brooded upon ships, and as he mused over his sea-plans, which seemed now to be baulked, a tempter came to tempt him (1698). The tempter was Augustus II, surnamed the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who, when John Sobieski, King of Poland, died, rushed to Warsaw with armed men and heaps of gold, and forced or bribed the Polish nobles to make him their king (1696). Augustus now proposed that he and Peter and the King of Denmark should attack Sweden in cold blood, and divide the Baltic coast line of what is now Russia between them. A treaty or rather a conspiracy to this effect was made in 1699, and early in 1700 Danes, Saxons, and Poles

The great war of the north begins

took the field, and Peter attacked a Swedish garrison at Narva on the Gulf of Finland, near where Petersburg now is

Charles
XII fights
and dies

Charles XII, great-great grandson of Charles IX of Sweden, had become king at the age of fifteen (1596), and he now forced Denmark to make peace, smashed the Russians at Narva, drove Augustus II, whom he looked on as the guilty party, out of Poland, and made the Polish nobles choose Stanislaus Leszczyński as their king. Then he compelled Augustus II to sign peace in Saxony, and pursued Peter southward and eastward. Peter had, in the meantime, cast new cannon out of church bells, and he now retreated, burning and laying waste his own country as he went. Winter set in, wine and spirits froze, most of Charles's men were frost-bitten, yet 'though earth and sky and air were against us, the king's orders had to be obeyed and the daily march made'. One day Charles, who had never lost a battle, lay wounded, and on that day his army was smashed by the Russians at Poltava (1709). Charles fled to Turkey, there was a short Turkish-Russian war which caused Peter to give up Azov, and Charles returned homeward without an army (1714). Denmark, Saxony, and other German states were now against him, warring against the parts of Germany which Sweden held of the emperor under the Treaty of Westphalia, and Charles fell fighting in a wretched skirmish with the Danes in Sweden (1718). After his death peace was concluded, under which Russia won all those eastern shores of the Baltic, including the Gulf of Finland, which now belong to Russia, excepting Courland (which remained Polish until 1737, when it passed to the Russian Tsarina) and some western and northern parts of Finland (which remained Swedish until 1743, when they too passed to Russia). Charles was the last great warrior Swede, his career,



CHARLES XII King of SWEDEN

like that of a meteor, was brilliant and brief, and his country in supporting him exhausted itself. Sweden lost most of its oversea possessions on the Baltic, but these possessions were only recently won, and their loss did no harm to Sweden. Charles did not fight in order to subdue, but in order to defend what he had, and to punish with all his might what he regarded as the treachery of those who attacked him. This war was defensive and personal, and in it he, like Louis, was 'one against many.'

After making peace with Sweden, Peter warred against Persia in consequence of seizures of Russian merchandise by Persian subjects, the southern shores of the Caspian and the port of Baku and other ports on its western shores became Russian for a time. One chief aim of his life was to transform Russia from an Asiatic kingdom into a European kingdom, and he set to work on this task in 1798. In the Swedish war Peter seized the site of Petersburg and built a city there with the aid of Swedish prisoners of war, and made it his capital or, as he called it, his window, out of which he could look at Europe. He then made war on Asiatic fashions, and made his subjects wear trim short clothes and hair, instead of loose long clothes and hair as they used to do. His sister was the first Russian lady of high rank who ceased to live in seclusion as though she were Asiatic, and began to mix in society like a European lady. He called himself emperor, as though the Eastern Empire had revived in him, or perhaps only because it sounded like some pompous European title. He divided Russia into eight provinces, like the Emperor Charles V, he made his council act for him when he was away, and he set up nine departments of state like those in Sweden. Every one thought that when Peter died Russia would fall back again into its

Peter
transforms
Russia

old Asiatic ways, but the opposite happened Peter had brought European ministers to Russia and had trained Russian ministers in a European way, but so that their only aim should be the good of Russia, and these men helped to rule Russia down to the time of Catherine the Great (1762-1796) Russia progressed, but not in freedom, the Tsar's kingdom was built on the ruins of small weak village republics, peasants had been made into serfs one hundred years before Peter's time, and serfs they remained until 1861 The serfs' saying, that 'The land is ours, but we are yours', describes their condition The only National Assembly was the meeting of the nobles called the Duma, but it had very little power and met very seldom

China

Peter the Great in 1689 made with Kang-hi, the Manchu ruler of China (1661 to 1721), the Treaty of Nerchinsk, which was the first treaty ever made between a European country and China This treaty made the Amur river the northern boundary of China and the southern boundary of Russian Siberia A further effort on his part to make a commercial treaty with China failed (1719) Strange to say, Europe heard of these events through some Jesuit missionaries, who were also mathematicians, and whom Louis XIV had sent to Peking (1687) to help or succeed to some Jesuit missionaries, who were also astronomers, and were then in charge of the Calendar at Pekin After Kang-hi's death missionaries were not allowed in China, but a few Jesuits remained These Jesuits compiled the first Chinese dictionary and Chinese map, the latter being published by Du Halde (1735) and others in Europe, where it held the field for nearly 150 years

India

In India the non-Mahommedan Marathas of Middle India spread ruin (1660 to 1750) and set up a new capital at Puna near Bombay, so that the Great Mogul became



PETER THE GREAT

powerless, and his former viceroys set up kingdoms of their own at Hyderabad in the south, and at Bengal in the east of India. Smaller European factories became unsafe, and were closed, but the English company now had three strong forts. Madras, Bombay, which Charles II's Portuguese wife gave him as her dowry (1662), and Calcutta, on the Hugli river (1690), along with small plots of land round these forts. Large native towns grew up on these small plots, and Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay became and still are the three chief towns of British India. Surat, a former British centre, was too unsafe, and Bantam (Java), another former centre, being too distant, was given over to the Dutch. The Dutch had ever since 1652 occupied and peopled an excellent half-way house between Europe and India at the Cape of Good Hope, and it was thought, as late as 1718, that they were stronger than the English in India, but they could not cope with the subtle Indian diplomats, nor would they face the wild Marathas, so that the Indian field, so far as Europeans were concerned, was left to the English and French. It is a French instinct to steer towards the waters of strife. A French company had been formed (1664), which was like some shadow of the 'great king' and his court, and did little but what they did or let it do. It took over a small French colony in Madagascar, occupied Chandarnagar, near Hugli, and Pondicherry, one hundred miles south of Madras, and made Pondicherry its Indian capital (1674). Somewhat later it also occupied Mauritius, which the Dutch had left, and the Seychelles Islands, as half-way houses between Europe and India. At that date the English only had one half-way house in the little island of St Helena. In India the French proved better politicians than the English, but the English had at their back a free nation, ever growing in wealth and

conscious strength, and the French depended on kings and courtiers who became weaker and vainer day by day

France in
Canada

The first ten years of Louis's personal reign (1661-1670) were great years in the history of the French colonies in America as well as in India. The French fleet which went once a year to and fro between France and Quebec in Canada left a new colony at Placentia on the south coast of Newfoundland, some seventy miles by land from the nearest English colonies on its east coast (1662). Montreal, which had suffered from Indian attacks, was now made safe by sending thither some five thousand French colonists, who formed the last group of colonists which ever went from France to Canada (1662 to 1672), at the same time French explorers discovered the Mississippi and its valley—whose area is the same as that of China Proper. Then came the English-French war, in which French colonists proved troublesome to English colonists, so the Treaty of Utrecht transferred to England Nova Scotia and Placentia, and also restored to her some English fur factories recently set up on Hudson Bay (1670 et seq.). The French therefore removed their colony at Placentia to Louisbourg, on the Atlantic coast of Cape Breton Island.

England in
America

The same ten years (1661-1670) were years of great energy in the history of the British colonization of America. Massachusetts became one colony amongst four sister or daughter colonies—Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island—which were largely peopled by Protestants, who had been driven out of Massachusetts by intolerant Puritans. Two small English-Dutch wars added New York to the roll of English colonies (1664, 1674), then two small colonies and the large colony of Pennsylvania were wedged in between New York and Maryland south of Virginia,

North and South Carolina had already been colonized (1663), and last of all Georgia was founded between South Carolina and the Spaniards of Florida (1732), who proved, much to the surprise of the Georgians, reasonable neighbours. There was now a line of thirteen British colonies south of Nova Scotia and north of Florida. Charles's, James's, and William's Charters and Instructions insisted on tolerance, and New York and Pennsylvania were recruited from many nations of Europe, Nova Scotia remained French in its population, but the rest of the colonies were very British in character, or would have been so but for the slave trade.

The early years of Charles II's reign stained English colonial history with the trade in West African negroes, who were brought as slaves to the southern British American colonies and to Spanish America. Spain had agreed with Portugal not to trade in West Africa, consequently Portuguese (1511 to 1600), then Dutchmen, did this dirty job for the Spaniards. After 1660 Englishmen, who had already begun to import West African slaves into a few of their West Indian Islands (1640), began to import them into their southernmost American colonies, and, if they could, into Spanish America. Every other European nation that had ships did likewise, and the Treaty of Utrecht gave England a monopoly, which France had recently held, of carrying 4,800 slaves or more every year from Africa to Spanish America (1713 to 1750). The slave trade, after having cursed and blighted Africa, America, and Europe for 150 years, was made illegal in England (1807) and elsewhere, and wholly ceased before the modern age began.

Another but far fainter blot upon the record of British colonial enterprise began to be apparent about the same time. English magistrates and judges after 1660 made a constant practice of forgiving criminals, if they would

Slave
trade

Convict
colonists.

serve some master in America for four years or so The criminals who were forgiven were often men 'more sinned against than sinning', men, for instance, who had fought in some small civil war, or had worshipped God in some forbidden way The trade of taking unruly men and boys across the ocean enriched the British colonies as well as the traders, although it led to many abuses It, too, ceased early in the modern age, and has since then been referred to by Englishmen with a shame which is sometimes, though not always, unnecessary This, after all, was only one little rivulet which added to the stream of colonists who left old unhappy homes in Europe for new happy British homes elsewhere French Canada had no such stream or rivulet, and that was one reason why British America numbered 1,200,000, Canada 65,000 persons, in 1750 or thereabouts

Philo
sophers

In case some reader asks —Why are the nations of Europe separate?—he will now see that they struggled into existence and made themselves what they are at different times, in different ways, one by one, and by mutual wars No one could say at any moment whether the empire, Spain, or France led Europe, and from moment to moment Portugal, England, Holland, Sweden, and Russia rushed out into the forefront The European states owed their being and character and some of their intellect and virtue to their divisions But their Science and Inventions—like sun and stars—knew no distinction of nation, but appealed impartially to every European who had eyes to see Thus five men created European astronomy —Copernicus (1473 to 1543), who first taught men that the earth was a planet, Tycho Brahe (1546 to 1601), Kepler (1571 to 1630), Galileo (1564 to 1642), and Newton (1642 to 1727) The first was a German Pole, the second a Swede, the third a South German, the fourth a Florentine and the fifth an Englishman After correct

astronomy, correct clocks and sextants were required in order to make navigation certain, and correct clocks and sextants, which were invented in England in 1731 and 1755, became immediately afterwards the property of every European sailor

Four English writers on Political Philosophy left their mark on European history—Francis Bacon (1561 to 1626), Hobbes (1632 to 1679), Harrington (1611 to 1677), and Locke (1632 to 1704) Locke's belief that government was a contract between governors and governed and that the people were sovereign, inspired the English rebels of 1688 and the Swiss-French Rousseau (1712-1778), Hobbes's 'Leviathan' preached absolute rule and inspired the Danish statesman, Count Griffenfeld, Harrington's idea of a 'Commonwealth of Oceana' inspired Cromwell Cromwell also had a poet, secretary, and friend, John Milton, who expounded his own and Cromwell's ideas of freedom and order, but Milton was a poet, his 'soul was like a star and dwelt apart', and he has little honour outside England

CHAPTER VI

WARS OF SUCCESSION

THE CREATION OF PRUSSIA, UNITED STATES, BRITISH
INDIA, AND MANY COLONIES, THE DESTRUCTION
OF POLAND

Invention,
discovery,
and toler-
ance

THE eighteenth century was an age of discovery, invention, and tolerance in every country of Europe. Thanks to the new astronomy and to new means of keeping sailors healthy on long voyages, the last useful ocean discoveries were made by some seven sea captains, mostly English (1764 to 1779), the greatest of whom was the Englishman, Captain Cook. Cook explored for the first time the fertile east coast of Australia, all the coasts of New Zealand, the north west coast of America, and some hundreds of Pacific Islands, where no white man had ever yet been (1768 to 1779). Meanwhile Watt invented steam-power (1769) and Arkwright spun cotton by machinery (1769), each doing with two or three labourers what two or three thousand labourers used to try to do. In England Sir Robert Walpole, who was Prime Minister for a quarter of a century (1715 to 1717, 1721 to 1742), began to pass Acts of Parliament which let men become officers and officials without professing to be Anglicans (1728 et seq.), and his finance left England the richest country in Europe. True, his finance was often old-fashioned and, amongst other things, he imposed certain duties in the colonies on sugar, which they got from foreign colonies (1733), and forbade colonial manufactures, but he aided the import into England of unworked colonial wood and iron. Even these fetters

began to break asunder, and although under the Navigation Acts (1651 et seq) no colony could sell or buy certain goods except to or from England, Walpole's laws let South Carolina and Georgia send their rice straight to the Mediterranean. In 1774 Roman Catholics were given equal rights with Protestants in the new British colony in Canada. In 1779 English laws forbidding Ireland to send woollen manufactures to England were done away with, and in 1782 Poyning's law was also done away with. In Spain only one city—Seville or Cadiz—used to trade in only one fleet, with only two or three Spanish-American ports during each year, but under its Bourbon kings this absurd restriction was done away with (1778), and customs' duties between province and province were also done away with. The Spanish Inquisition was limited in its powers to punish heretics (1770), and was at last done away with (1808). As the Pope did away with the Knights Templars long ago, so now he did away with the Jesuits (1773), who, however, were re-created forty years afterwards. The Emperor Joseph II (1765 to 1790) suppressed seven hundred convents, enforced tolerance (1781), and did away with serfs in Austria (1780 et seq). Torture, which was never legal in England, was done away with in Scotland (1708), Prussia (1740), Austria (1775), and Spain (1790). Of three French writers—Rousseau (1712 to 1778), Voltaire (1694 to 1778), and Diderot (1713 to 1784)—Rousseau attacked the state, Voltaire Christianity, and Diderot God. Voltaire was the friend of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia (1740 to 1786), Diderot was the friend of Catherine the Great, Tsarina of Russia (1762 to 1796), and the writings of all these writers were widely read. Yet the French kingdom went jogging along as before, with dissolute kings, with cardinals for statesmen, and with financiers who paid off old and big state debts

by new and bigger state debts. In the later eighties two financiers, Turgot and Necker—Necker being (like Sully) a Protestant—tried too late to redeem French finance, but except for their efforts, the European process of peacefully doing away with many bad things, and then of letting things go as they will—which is now called 'Liberalism'—hardly touched the French state. Yet a good gardener not only pulls out weeds, but plants flowers. Unfortunately, in Europe flowers have usually burst into bloom amid tumult and by force, and when between 1740 and 1776 a great kingdom and a great republic were born, and old colonies changed hands, and new colonies were planted, these events brought with them two new long confused wars and general treaties, like those of which so many dreary examples have been given in previous chapters.

Prussia
becomes a
kingdom

Brandenburg, when last we mentioned it, might be compared to a small body, with two wings very far from one another, and not joined to the body to which they belonged. The body lay mostly between the Elbe and Oder, which successive Electors enriched by canals and draining (1640 to 1740), the eastern wing was East Prussia, of which Poland gave up the overlordship in 1660, and the western wing was at Clèves on the Lower Rhine. The electorate of Brandenburg became, by leave of the emperor, the kingdom of Prussia, and Frederick I became first King of Prussia (1700 to 1713). By inheritance and treaty the electorate had already expanded northward to Pomerania on the Baltic (1637, 1648), and by inheritance it became entitled to expand southward (1675), so as to include six or seven of the duchies of what is now called Silesia, but was prevented from doing so by the King of Bohemia, who was overlord of the Silesian duchies, and who was also emperor. The Great Elector, as the then Elector of Brandenburg was

called, after many disputes, agreed in his old age to give up his Silesian claims if other lands should be given him in exchange (1686), and the emperor publicly agreed to give him these other lands (1686), but at the same time secretly induced the old man's son to restore them on his father's death, which process is familiar to English lawyers under the name of 'Frauds upon expectant heirs' King Frederick, upon whom the fraud was practised, succeeded his father two years later (1688), and observed the terms of the secret fraudulent agreement, but he protested rightly that his claim to the Silesian duchies was still valid, though he did not enforce it Nor did Frederick William I, his successor (1713 to 1740), enforce this claim, as he was put off by trickery almost as bad as that of which Frederick was the victim The family which then held Jülich was dying out, and the emperor promised to support Frederick William's claims to succeed, after he had promised to support a rival claimant, both promises being secret though signed, and the first promise being intended as a mere sop Frederick William was the thriftiest king who ever lived, he raised, drilled, and paid a standing army of eighty thousand men—which was also the number of the Austrian army and half that of the French army—and planted at his own expense, in East Prussia, thirty thousand colonists, mostly Protestant exiles from South Germany, and while doing so not only incurred no debt but actually saved a year and a half's revenue, namely £1,500,000 Prussia became the second or third strongest kingdom in Europe, so far as soldiers went, and was the only European kingdom that had no debt, but a surplus

Frederick William died in the same year as the Emperor Charles VI (1740), and the emperor left one daughter, Maria Teresa, who married Francis, last

The Austrian succession is disputed ✓

German Duke of Lorraine, but as yet she was childless. Charlemagne and his electors had declared empresses, like Irene, illegal, therefore Maria Teresa could not be chosen empress, but could she inherit the hereditary Habsburg possessions? Charles VI declared (1713) and tried to make every German state and every European kingdom declare that she should, and many of them agreed, retracted, and renewed their agreement to do so. Unfortunately, too, a previous emperor, Leopold I (1703), had laid down a rule that some one else was the true heir, and the emperor was only just dead when the Elector Charles of Bavaria, who had the next best, if not the best claim to these possessions, proceeded to assert his own claims. These questions were of moment to Europe, because the Habsburg possessions included the valley of the Po and the Netherlands, about which European wars of succession had been waged, as I have told.

The Silesian war and the war of the Austrian succession begins, 1740

Suddenly Frederick II, who succeeded his father Frederick William as King of Prussia (1740-1786), occupied Silesia (1740-1741), almost without a battle, even as Louis XIV occupied the Spanish Netherlands, and sent word to Maria Teresa that he would back her Habsburg claims if she would admit his Silesian claims. Amazed and enraged by this mention of Silesian claims, to the possible justice of which she was as blind as woman can be, she denounced Frederick II as a robber, and attacked him in Silesia, Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria backing her. At the same time Charles of Bavaria attacked her in Austria, which he claimed, Louis XV of France backing him. Moreover, the King of Spain attacked the Habsburg hereditary possessions in Italy, backed by Louis XV, Spain being already at war with England for a totally different reason.

The Spanish-English war broke out (1739) over the



FREDERICK THE GREAT

limited rights for Englishmen to trade with Spanish America, which were conferred by the Treaty of Utrecht. The Spaniards thought, rightly or wrongly, that an English master-sailor named Jenkins was exceeding these rights, and cut off his ear. There were other causes of complaint, but the barbarous brutality of the Spaniards towards Jenkins's ear enraged the British Parliament, which forced Walpole, much against his will, to begin war against Spain (1739). Further, the first two Hanoverian Kings of England, George I (1714 to 1727) and George II (1727 to 1760), being Electors of Hannover, and therefore very jealous of Prussia, and very wroth with Bavaria, wanted Walpole to support Maria Teresa's claim to the Habsburg possessions in Germany. Pushed for one reason into the Spanish war, and for another reason into the 'War of the Austrian Succession', as it was called, England found itself once more on the opposite side to France, France being the ally of Spain and Bavaria, although England had no quarrel with France. But France and England were enemies of old standing, and at once took up the long story of their strife, they fought in Germany against one another (1743), then declared war (1744), and then shifted the scene of war to Scotland (1745). James II of England had left a son, James Edward, who headed a rising of Highlanders in 1715, and now in 1745 Charles Edward, son of this James Edward, with French help reached Scotland, and headed a second rising of Highlanders which was quelled without great difficulty. These risings reminded Englishmen how easily questions of succession to the British throne might arise and become mixed up with dangerous disputes about Spanish and Austrian Successions, and they almost forgot their Spanish and German grievances, and thought only of the danger that threatened them from France.

England drifts into the war of the Austrian Succession, and has a war of succession of its own

The Silesian and Austrian wars end for a while, 1748,

Meanwhile the Continental wars were getting more and more confused. Frederick II wanted Silesia, and got it (1742). Maria Teresa kept Austria, lost Silesia, and drove Charles out of Bavaria, and when Charles of Bavaria was elected emperor as Charles VII (1742-1745), she warred against her own emperor, whom she defied and called the 'so called emperor'. She was now the rebel, and Frederick II went to war again in order to help his emperor, and tried to form a league of German princes in order to keep France and England from meddling in merely German matters (1743 to 1745). When Charles VII died, Maria Teresa's husband was chosen emperor as Francis I (1745 to 1765), and Frederick II ceased fighting (1745), nevertheless the war dragged on for little or no reason, until peace was concluded by all parties in 1748. The peace, however, proved to be only a truce in Europe, and not even a truce elsewhere.

and break out again into the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763

In 1756 Russia, which now makes its first important entrance into West-European battle-fields, Austria, and Saxony planned together to clip the Prussian wings, so to speak, by taking from her and sharing between themselves Silesia, East Prussia, and other places. Before their armies could unite, Frederick II attacked the two nearest allies, and immediately found himself attacked by France. At this very moment England happened to have a very clear cause of quarrel with France over things that were happening far away outside Europe, so England sent men and money to help Frederick II against France. If it had not been for England Frederick II would have been, during the seven weary years of this war, alone against almost all Europe. 'Need I tell you,' said Frederick II, 'it is not necessary that I live, but it is that I do my duty and fight for my country to save it if possible.' Because of his patriotism, persistence, and splendid victories he became known as

Frederick the Great, and Prussia permanently became one of the great powers of Europe. The war ended in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris, which is the third of the great treaties or peaces which form landmarks and resting-places in the troubled history of Europe. In Europe things remained much as they were, except that every one now knew that Prussia was the equal of Austria, and that Russia had entered into the European arena. Meanwhile, the battles and treaties inside Europe had become of vital importance outside Europe, and the reader must fly on the wings of his imagination many thousand miles eastward to India, and many thousand miles westward to America, before he can understand the world-wide effect which these local wars produced.

India also had its wars of succession, at the same date as the War of the Austrian Succession, but hitherto European powers took little or no part in them. In Southern India the Viceroy¹ of Hyderabad had more or less under him a sub-ruler of Mysore (on or near the south-west coast) and a sub ruler² of the Carnatic (on the south-east coast), the latter being named Dost Ali, who was killed by the Marathas (1740), and whose son-in-law Chanda fled to the French capital at Pondicherry. On the formal outbreak of the French-English war in Europe, Frenchmen from the Mauritius and from Pondicherry attacked and took Madras from the English (1746). Then Dost Ali's successor claimed Madras as part of the Carnatic from Duplex, who was French governor at Pondicherry. Duplex immediately set up Chanda as Dost Ali's rightful successor (1749). Further, the Viceroy of Hyderabad having died in 1748, Duplex set up and kept in power a new viceroy of his own choosing, as successor to the dead viceroy. All these

French and English take part in Indian wars of succession in Madras

¹ Nizam

² Nawab

things were done by means of wars, in which natives and Frenchmen fought side by side- against other natives, and in the end Frenchmen claimed that they or the native puppets, which they set up and controlled, were the rulers of 30,000,000 Indians, and overlords of all the land, on which not only Madras but also many other British factories were built Dupleix even took titles from the Great Mogul, and claimed to act as a ruler appointed by him Madras, in the meantime, had been restored to England by the European peace of 1748, so that it was impossible for Englishmen to put up with these French claims, and they lent an ear to the calls for help which came to them from time to time from those native governors whom the French claimants had dispossessed Rival native governors fought, one aided by the English and the other by the French, and although France and England were at peace in Europe, Clive, a servant of the English company, led a few English and many Indian troops to victory against the Frenchmen and their Indian allies (1751 et seq) When the next French-English war broke out in Europe and America (1756) the English and French and their allies attacked one another in the south of India with zest, and Pondicherry was taken by the English Pondicherry, however, was restored by the Peace of Paris (1763), which limited the armed forces of France in the south east and forbade any elsewhere in India, for instance in Bengal

In Bengal In 1756, Suráj, who ruled Bengal, as viceroy¹ of the Great Mogul, suddenly seized Calcutta, and stuck 146 Englishmen into a black hole, where all but twenty-three were suffocated in one night In 1757 Clive retook Calcutta, and Suraj conspired with the French of Chandarnagar against Clive Clive then beat Suráj

¹ Subahdár or ud Daula or Nawab



LORD CLIVE

in the famous battle of Plassey, with troops one-third of which was British and two thirds were Indian (1757) In a moment Clive found himself in the same position with regard to Bengal that Duplex had claimed to hold in regard to Southern India Chandarnagar was subdued, and as the Dutch began to stop British ships in the Hughli, Chinsurah, which was Dutch, followed the fate of Chandarnagar, both being restored to their European owners shortly afterwards Then the Governor¹ of Oudh, on the west of Bengal, and the Great Mogul still further west, attacked the English and were defeated Clive, now Lord Clive, and English Governor of Bengal, made Oudh a half subject or 'protected' state, and the Great Mogul became a mere pensioner of the English, until the Marathas took possession of him (1771) Clive and his successor, Warren Hastings, made Bengal an English province

When Clive arrived in India (1744) there were three chief English trading-places or factories, which were also native towns—Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta—and when Clive left India (1766) these three places were the seats of three Indian Governments, and Bengal, which was by far the richest and largest of the three, contained the chief seat of the British-Indian Government The British had simply borrowed the French plan, and applied it, not from ambition as the French had done, but solely in order to save themselves from being wiped out by the Frenchmen and the native allies of the Frenchmen Englishmen fought, but they always fought alongside of natives twice their number, and the attacking party, the party who really broke the peace, was either some native usurper, like Chanda, some dissolute native brute like Svráj, or some ambitious Frenchman like Duplex Its great fate was forced

English
rule begins
in India

¹ Subahdar or ud Daula or Nawab

upon the reluctant company in self-defence It had to die or rule In England, Clive and Warren Hastings were accused of many wrong deeds—sometimes, alas! truly, but the chief thing which they did was more than right—it was necessary, and then accusers' maxim, that Englishmen ought to use what Clive and Hastings won, for the good of India and not of England, and that England was merely a trustee for the dumb millions of India, is a maxim which every English Governor of India has tried to live up to from that day to this Large parts of India became henceforth like some eastern wing, belonging to but disjoined by many thousand miles from Great Britain, at the same time Great Britain saved, won and lost another wing many thousand miles away on its west

The English take
Canada

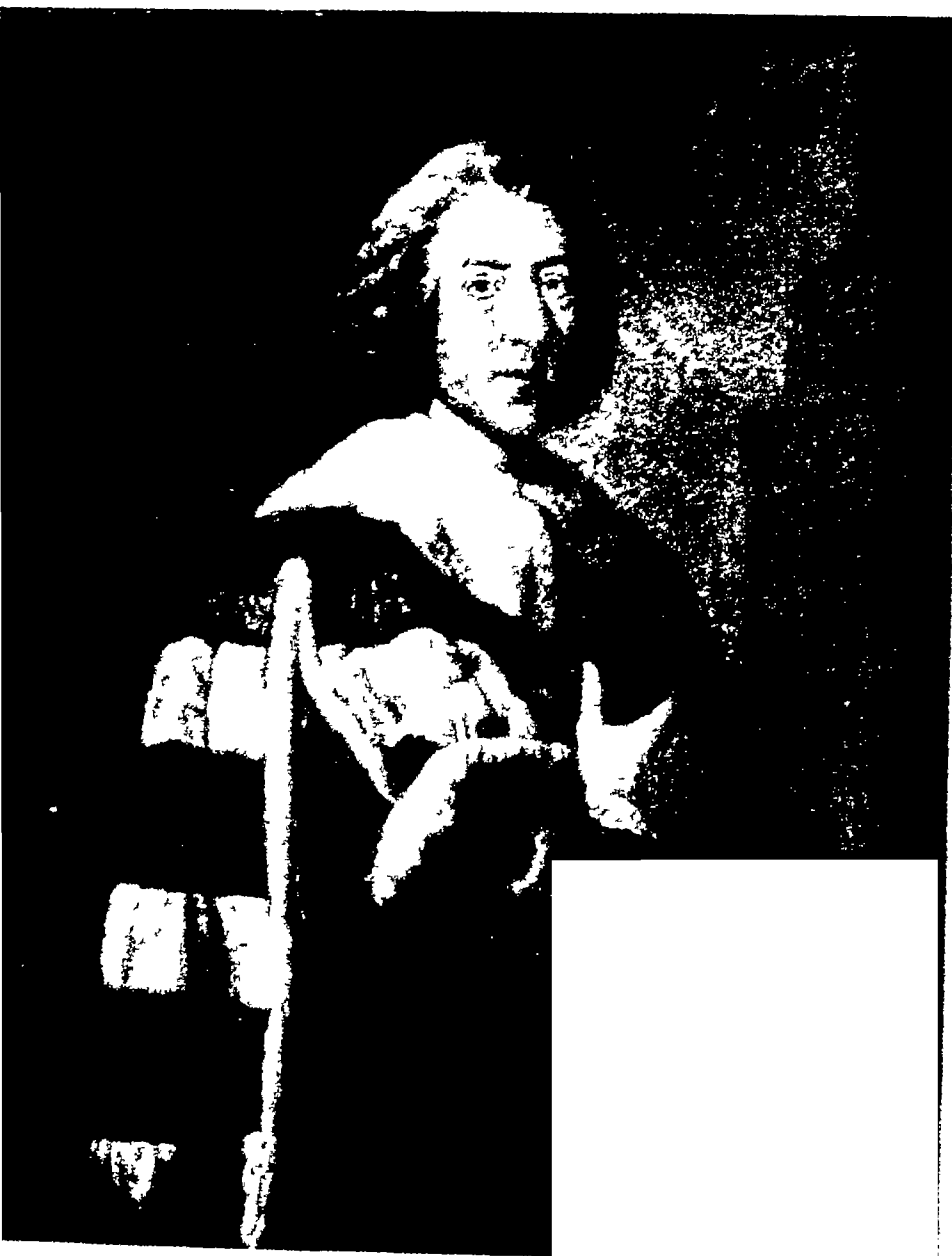
In Canada there were two French districts, a great one on the river St Lawrence between Quebec, Montreal, and the Gulf of St Lawrence, and a little one in or near Cape Breton Island between the Gulf and the Atlantic Quebec was the capital of the great district, whence it sent its explorers and fur traders some fifteen hundred miles due west to where the forests end and the plains begin, and some two thousand miles to the south and south west, into the Indian hunting-grounds on the Mississippi and its tributaries, and right down to New Orleans on the sea Louisbourg was the capital of the little district In 1744 war began in this little district, next year Louisbourg fell before the attack of the soldiers of Massachusetts, helped by British royal ships In 1748, Louisbourg was restored to France for the same reason that Madras was restored to England, and next year the first serious attempt was made to people Nova Scotia with Englishmen Although Nova Scotia had belonged to England for thirty-six years, it had had hitherto only a few French colonists,

and its boundaries were uncertain Border warfare began in the early fifties between the English and French colonists on the disputed boundary of Nova Scotia, and at the same time the Quebec Government planted small forts on the easternmost tributaries of the Mississippi in order to prevent the British settlers on the Atlantic coasts from hunting or trading there One of these forts was built where Pittsburg now is, and the French Canadians drove the English of Virginia thence by force back towards the Atlantic (1753 to 1755) This was what the great English Prime Minister (1756-1761) William Pitt, Lord Chatham, said was the one clear and necessary cause why England must go to war with France, for he deemed the whole future fate of British America at stake Pitt's cause had nothing to do with Frederick the Great's cause of war, but France being the enemy of both, either made the other his ally And surely it would have been madness if England had allowed a few hundred Frenchmen to shut out Englishmen for all time from the lonely hunting-grounds of the native Indians, in the Mississippi valley—a valley which was as large as the whole of China Proper William Pitt pressed on the war with astounding vigour, Louisbourg was retaken (1758), Wolfe took and was killed while taking Quebec (1759), and Canada was conquered and handed over along with Florida and the eastern valleys of the Mississippi to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris (1763), New Orleans, however, and the western basin of the Mississippi became nominally Spanish for the next forty years How sixty-five thousand French subjects in Canada changed into English subjects is one of those wonders, which still astonish historians, but both French and English are European; the conquerors did not meddle with the language, religion, or legal system of their new subjects, and the subjects

after a time began to enjoy a greater degree and a better kind of freedom than they would have enjoyed had not they changed from one kingdom to the other.

The British
colonies
rebel

This wonder was followed by a still greater wonder. Hardly were the British colonists set free from fear of their French neighbours, when they rebelled against their mother country. There were faults on the American as well as the English side, the Americans would not contribute towards the expenses of the Canadian wars, which after all had been fought for their sakes, and the English tried to repay themselves by the old bad method of imposing customs duties on the colonies from which the mother country would derive most benefit. Why, asked the colonists, should a Parliament in another hemisphere which was rather corrupt and very ignorant, and in which colonists had no seat, make laws for them or tax them? These murmurs began to be heard early in the reign of George III (1760-1820), and the reign began badly. George III was obstinate and self-willed, when Pitt left the government (1761) his ministers were vacillating and shortsighted. They imposed and repealed customs and stamp duties on the colonies, thus provoking wrath and contempt by turns (1763-1766). Every little complaint, being treated in the wrong way, became serious. A tea riot, due to a duty imposed on tea, broke out in Boston, Massachusetts, and the 'colonies' began to call themselves 'states' (1773), delegates of the colonies and states went to their first 'Congress' (1774), Congress made Washington commander-in-chief, royal troops were attacked, and when Parliaments were not convened, 'Conventions' convened themselves (1775). In 1776, 'Congress' issued a 'Declaration of Independence' and their different Parliaments and Conventions began to pass 'Bills of Rights' after the English model of 1688.



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM
From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery



In the War of Independence (1776-1783) the United States of America—as the thirteen British Atlantic colonies, south of Canada, called themselves—asked for and got help from that France from fear of whom England had just helped to free them; Spain joined France, and as in 1652, the searching by English ships of Dutch ships made Holland, as well as France and Spain, the enemy of England and the helper of the American colonies. England was alone against three European powers as well as against those of her own household in America. Under the Treaty of Versailles, which concluded the war (1783) American Independence was acknowledged. Then the freed states formed alliances with one another and had recourse once more to the English device of a 'Convention' (1787). Washington was its president, and it planned the present constitution of the United States. Each state, while still a colony, had its governor, Upper House, and House of Representatives, so that no new constitution was required for the states, except to make the governor elective—where this was not the case already. The central government which controlled the states was given such powers only as the states expressly gave it, a feature probably borrowed from Holland, as was also the provision that the law of the constitution could not be changed like ordinary laws but required special methods and special majorities. It will be remembered that Cromwell also wished to put it out of the power of a mere parliamentary majority to change the constitution. What Cromwell failed to secure, Washington and his help-mates succeeded in securing; and that was why Washington's work lived after him. Instead of a king, there was a president, who held office for four years and was elected by indirect election, and might be re-elected. Washington became the first president.

The
United
States of
America
create a
republic.

The new constitution was built up with care and forethought, it was accepted by all the states before 1790, and it has stood the test of 125 years' experience

The
Loyalists
colonize
Canada

Those colonists who stood by their mother country were turned out of house and home by their states, and were settled, along with discharged Highland and other British soldiers, in the eastern provinces of Canada and in those pathless forests west of Montreal which they transformed into the fertile province of Ontario. The new British settlers were about the same in number as the old French Canadian settlers, that is to say sixty thousand.

Australia
is founded

If the transfer of Canada from French to English rule is a wonder, if the fact that that transfer induced the American colonists to rebel is a greater wonder, if the alliance of the rebels with the despotic kings of France and Spain is a greater wonder still, surely the following is the greatest wonder of all. In 1787 some eight hundred criminals were sent under an obscure sea captain, named Phillip, and some two hundred marines to Sydney, on that east coast of Australia, which Captain Cook was the first white man to see. No statesman seemed to know what he was doing or why he was doing it, but when these unsavoury exiles were once in their distant home, the government at great expense saved them over and over again from famine and nakedness, the colonial governor and his soldiers persuaded them to farm, or farmed with their help, and the foundation stone of British Australia was laid.

The death
of Poland

The wars in Europe had sequels in Europe which must now be mentioned. Catherine the Great became Tsarina of Russia in 1762. In 1763 Augustus III, King of Poland (1733 to 1763), whom thirty thousand Russian soldiers had placed upon the Polish throne, died. During Frederick the Great's war his Russian enemies had used Poland as though it were part of Russia, and now in 1763 Catherine the Great put her favourite

Stanislaus Poniatowski on the Polish throne, and then sent troops into the Polish National Assembly in order to compel its members to grant full political rights to members of the Greek Church and to Protestants. Some Poles upheld the Russian cause, and others called for help to Turkey, which accordingly made war on Russia (1768 to 1774), in consequence of which Catherine attacked Turkey and annexed the Crimea and the south of Russia (1783 and 1792).

Nor did her ambition stop here, but she created or claimed that she created by treaty¹ a right for Russia to protect members of the Greek Church in Turkey, and she wished to make Greece rebel against Turkey, to set her grandson Constantine on the throne at Constantinople, and to make Rumania and Bessarabia, which were still Turkish, into a kingdom of which her favourite Potemkin should be king. Such were her claims and wishes. Meanwhile Poland was torn by civil war, and Austria sent troops into Little Poland, or what is now called Galicia. Immediately Russia threatened Austria with war, but Frederick II, who after his long wars likened himself 'to a dog licking his own sores', wanted peace, and tried to mediate. Catherine then suggested that Austria should keep part of Galicia, she taking part of Lithuania, and Frederick taking West Prussia, which, as we said, was once German, and lay between Brandenburg and East Prussia. Similar proposals had formerly been made by two Polish kings (1662, 1733), the Polish National Assembly approved or was made to approve of the proposal, which the three Powers now made (1772-1773), and war between Russia and Austria was avoided. In 1793, the same old story was repeated with similar results, but Frederick the Great

¹ Treaty of Kachuk Krainarji (1774)

was dead (1786), and Prussia was like a ship without a captain. Posen and some western parts of Great Poland were allotted to Prussia, and Russia received a still larger part of Lithuania. Then the Polish patriot Kosciuszko¹ rebelled, and Russia took the rest of Lithuania, Austria the rest of Galicia and some southern parts of Great Poland, and Austria and Russia flung the residue including Warsaw and the surrounding parts of Great Poland to Prussia, which accepted this fatal gift. In these three partitions Russia only took over Lithuania, where Russians were very numerous and Poles hardly existed, and had Austria taken over nothing but Galicia, where Little Russians were very numerous and Poles were few, or had Prussia taken over nothing but West Prussia and the German and Wendish parts of Posen, these partitions would not have been blunders. But it was a gross blunder to annex Great Poland where the Polish national spirit had burned intensely for many centuries, and the total extinction of Poland seems to modern Europeans not only a blunder but a crime. Poland may have been the worst-governed state or bundle of states in Europe, but that was only a reason why it should cease to rule Germans, Russians, Lithuanians, and the like. National spirit is the one virtue which spirited nations always respect, and Poland is the only European kingdom which European kingdoms have ever utterly destroyed. So far as our history has gone, almost every war has caused the birth, and not one war has caused the death of a European kingdom or state, and as yet Poland is the only exception to this rule. But dates should be noted. The death sentence was passed on Poland in the Nineties, when the French Revolution, with which our next chapter will deal, was raging, and Russia, Austria, and Prussia had no time or inclination to deal tenderly with rebels.

¹ He was made Dictator (Naczelnik)

CHAPTER VII

FRENCH REVOLUTION NAPOLEON

EACH previous chapter in this book is headed by the names of many kings, nations, and wars, because the cars of Fate ran on many roads and were driven by many drivers in many directions, but now at last European history merges in the history of one nation, one event, and one man, the nation is France, the event is the French Revolution, and the man is Napoleon

In order to raise new taxes Louis XVI, King of France, with the consent of Necker, his Protestant Finance Minister, called together the 'States-General', 1789, which was the French name for their substitute for a Parliament and consisted of three 'Estates' or classes—nobles, clergy, and 'the Third Estate' or Commons—as did the English Parliament, but in England the untitled clergy did not sit in Parliament as they did in France. The English Parliament had met almost continuously for 500 years, during which it won the sole power to make laws, grant taxes, and rule itself, so that every one knew what it was, what it did, and how it did it. But the French States General had not met for 175 years, never made laws, and only granted some taxes but not others, nor did any one quite know who were the electors of the Third Estate, or what districts elected what members, indeed, all that was known was that election was indirect, as in Holland—that is to say, electors elected electors of members, instead of electing members directly as in England and its colonies. Having settled the vexed question of the electors and electoral districts, the elected members did not know where to sit

Unity of
Europe

States-
General,
May, 1789

—in three houses, in two houses (as in England), or in one house. The one-house system was adopted because the Third Estate, being the most numerous, insisted on one house, and this house called itself the 'National Assembly'. But what were its powers? The National Assembly and the Assembly which succeeded it answered this question by issuing 'Declarations of Rights', by taking 'solemn oaths and covenants', and by appointing 'Committees' to govern the nation, and 'Conventions' to decide on a Constitution, as English and American rebels had already done. However, France fell below or soared above its English and American models, for the English and American experiments were based on experience, habit, and tradition, and the French experiments on imitation, invention, and logic.

The
National
Assembly,
1789-1791

The 'National Assembly', or 'Constituent Assembly', as it is sometimes called, declared taxes, which it did not authorize, illegal, did away with the privileges of the upper classes and with feudal tenure of land, made priests elective, and declared the persons of its members sacred, its members swearing not to separate until a new constitution should be made law, so that it was a 'Long Parliament' (in the English sense of the phrase) although it actually lasted only a little more than two years (May 1789 to September 1791). Thus far its reforms were English in origin. It also issued a 'Declaration of the Rights of Man', abolished titles, and made judges and local officials elective, and here it followed American examples. It differed from every revolutionary Assembly elsewhere in its haste, its disregard of history, and its appeal to general ideas. No compensation was given and nothing was put in the place of feudal tenures, a single code of law for every Frenchman was promised but not completed, France

was divided into eighty-three new 'departments' instead of into the old historic provinces, and it was declared that former treaties did not bind. Here France struck out a new disastrous line, seizures of Church and feudal property resulted; landowners fled, and the emperor and princes of the empire, who had feudal rights in Elsass made ready for war. France, too, appealed to force. Each town armed its citizens, called them 'National Guards', and made them swear to obey the 'Constitution', and the National Guards of different towns federated with one another and formed a leaderless 'nation in arms'. The Paris mob from time to time destroyed prisons, and invaded the king's palace, so that at last the king tried to fly and became little more than a prisoner. Festivals were held celebrating the destruction of a royal prison ('Liberty'), the abolition of class distinctions ('Equality'), and the federation of the Guards ('Fraternity'). Finally a new constitution was enacted by the Assembly, and a so-called 'Legislative Assembly' was elected and took the reins of power.

The Legislative Assembly consisted of one house, ^{The Legis-}the king could only delay but could not 'veto' its laws, ^{lative} and he himself was liable to be suspended or deposed. ^{Assembly,} Election was indirect. At Robespierre's suggestion it was not allowed to contain former members of the National Assembly; so that its real leaders were members of the Paris town council, or of the council's electors, or of some Paris debating-club—such as Danton and his follower Desmoulins in the Cordeliers' Club, and Robespierre and his follower St. Just in the Jacobins' Club—who threatened it from outside. Of these men Robespierre was a cold disciple of Rousseau, Danton was led only by his sometimes brutal sometimes generous, but always hot instincts. The rule of this

Assembly (September 1791 to September 1792) was feeble and fatal. In April 1792 war was declared against the emperor—because he harboured or protected those who harboured French exiles—and against his allies—namely the King of Prussia, and the King of Sardinia, as the ruler of Savoy-Piedmont was now called. Belgium, Savoy, and Nice were seized, to the alarm of every European power, including Holland and England. On August 10, 1792, a mob slew the king's guards. Therefore the Assembly 'suspended' the king—on the ground that, like the English Charles I, he had warred against his people (the opposite being the truth)—and declared that a 'Convention' must be elected at the end of August and the beginning of September in order to invent a new constitution. The Convention was born amid scenes of horror. On one day at the end of August Danton's friends, under powers from the Paris town council, headed a mob and swept thousands of supposed royalists into prison, and on another day at the beginning of September, the bells of Paris suddenly rang, and Hanriot, heading another mob, slew all these prisoners. These massacres, which recall the massacres of Sicilian Vespers and St Bartholomew's day, were meant to prevent royalists from voting at the election of 'the Convention'.

The Con-
vention,
1792-1793

The Convention was elected indirectly, like its predecessor, but eleven-twelfths of the voters did not vote. It resolved that besides inventing a new constitution, it, and only it, should rule until peace should return. Brissot, Danton, Desmoulins, Robespierre, and St Just were its best-known members. It ruled for over three years (1792-1795). It abolished kings, promised to aid rebels anywhere and everywhere, but at the rebels' expense (1792), beheaded king and queen, declared war on the rulers of England and Holland

(1793), and threatened war against every ruler of every country

Members of the Convention were sent 'on mission' from time to time to visit distant French 'departments', towns, and armies, and to keep them in harmony with its policy. Among these members on mission to the army, Danton and Carnot proved conspicuous for their excellence. France meanwhile was really governed, not so much by the Convention as by its 'Revolutionary Tribunal', which resembled, but was bloodier and wickeder than Alva's tribunal in the Spanish Netherlands, and by its 'Committee of Public Safety', which sometimes proved more than worthy of its great name-sake in the English civil war, and sometimes sanctioned deeds as bad as the deeds of the most abandoned criminals.

The Revolutionary Tribunal was the creation of Danton and the favourite weapon of Robespierre and of the Jacobin Club, by whose direction (mainly) it sentenced to death during the fifteen months of its sway (April 1793 to July 1794) 2,625 persons in Paris alone. 'Members on mission' introduced the club and the tribunal into every corner of France, the club, whose emblem was an open eye, found victims, the tribunal 'purged' the departments by blood, and one 'member on mission', Carrier by name, caused fifteen thousand Bretons to be killed in four months, under forms of law. Men were punished as traitors, who had not certificates of 'civic virtue' from the local authorities, the press was no longer free, a new calendar was enforced, which abolished Christian holy days, festivals to Reason and Supreme Beings took the place of Christian services, which were suppressed, and the nation seemed mad. But the madness ran its course, and ceased after Brissot, then Danton and Desmoulins, then Robespierre, St Just

The Revolutionary Tribunal, 1793-1794, and the Convention.

(who wished to make Robespierre dictator), and Hanriot, and then Carrier had been beheaded by the orders of the very tribunal by means of which they had slain so many innocent people. So much blood made men sick, and the Convention during its last year recovered its sanity (1794-1795). The Revolutionary Tribunal, the Paris town council, and the Jacobin Clubs were suppressed (1794). Churches were reopened, religion and the press were freed, and the Convention returned to its proper task of inventing a new constitution (1795). Two Assemblies were to form one 'Legislative body', one of which elected five Directors, who might not sit in either, and thenceforth ruled France. As one Director retired each year, his rule lasted for at least one year and at most five years. One Assembly passed laws which the other Assembly could delay but could not veto. The constitution was laid before a million or so of electors—by what is called a Referendum—in order that they might vote that they accepted or vetoed it—and they accepted it. In the last days of the Convention (October 1795) Paris rioters marched against it in the same way as they used to march against previous Assemblies. Barras, who was told off to resist them, employed a young Corsican officer, named Napoleon Bonaparte, to defend the Convention, Napoleon sent for cannon, and the mob was dispersed with the first whiff of grapeshot. The new five Directors who now began to rule France were little more than the old committee-men of Public Safety with reduced numbers and under another name.

Committee
of Public
Safety,
1793-1795

Danton, whose character had its great side, founded the Committee of Public Safety (April 1793), and its task was to save France. It succeeded a Committee of twenty one or twenty-five members—the very numbers of the English or English Scotch Committee of 1644—



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

{ With these words on his lips he conquered Piedmont and the Austrian part of Italy, forcing peace on Piedmont, and driving the Austrians from furthest west to furthest east of Italy, then he marched almost to Rome, formed the Northern Papal States and the Lombard cities on the Po into a vassal state under the Latin name of the 'Cisalpine Republic', seized Leghorn from his own ally, the Duke of Tuscany, the Ionian Islands and the Venetian fleet from Venice, which was also his own ally, invaded Austria from the south, assumed diplomatic power as absolute as that of Crassus, and more absolute than that of Wallenstein, dictated peace with Austria, to whom he gave what was left of Venice (1797), sent home millions of pounds of plunder, including busts of Brutus who slew Caesar, and then like Caesar, whom Brutus slew, lingered in his Cisalpine province on the plains of the Po with his eyes, says Lanfrey, riveted on his capital city, muttering, 'Do you think I am winning Italy for those wretched advocates, the Directors?' Meanwhile the Directors were trembling in presence of a feeble royalist conspiracy and sought help from soldiers, so Napoleon, thinking that his hour had not yet struck, sent them General Augereau, by help of whom and of whose soldiers the conspirators (if any) were quelled, and then foolish laws were revived against press, priests, royalists, and their relatives (September 1797). On his arrival in Paris, December 1797, Napoleon was asked to report on a French plan to invade England, reported against it, and proposed to seize Egypt, and attack England in India. Accordingly, in 1798, the Directory sent out armies which plundered (or liberated) Switzerland, Rome, and Naples, in order to finance the new movement. Meanwhile Spain had joined France (1796), and, although England had taken Trinidad from the Spaniards, and the Spanish fleet had been destroyed by

Jervis and Nelson at Cape St Vincent (1797), England had deserted the Mediterranean (1796-1798)

In May 1798 Napoleon sailed with an army from the south of France, no one knew whither, seized Malta from the crusading Order of the Knights of St John, and in July reached Egypt exclaiming 'We are the true Mahommedans' We destroyed the Pope and the Knights of St John' Then Nelson with an English fleet tracked the French fleet to Egypt and smashed it there in the battle of the Nile (August 1798) Napoleon, after killing many Egyptians and beating the Turks in Syria and Egypt, stole away home in 1799, boasting of his victories, but leaving his army in Egypt (October 1799) and his Indian dreams in cloudland

In 1801 Napoleon's Egyptian army was utterly defeated by an army from England and from British India under Abercromby—who was killed in the hour of his victory—and Baird, but it was allowed to go home In 1800 Nelson took Malta In India Frenchmen, at Napoleon's instigation, intrigued with the Viceroy of Hyderabad, and with Tipu, sub-ruler of Mysore (1798) Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of India (1797 to 1805), attacked Tipu, annexed most of Mysore and the Carnatic, which was allied with Mysore, and made Hyderabad and the rest of Southern India into protected native states, from which French officers—who had remained there ever since Clive's time, in spite of treaties—were excluded These events brought on wars against the Marathas (1802-1804), whose forces were also under French officers, and Berar, which is north of Hyderabad, and Delhi and Agra, which are on the Jumna and were the capital cities of the Great Mogul, and parts of the Punjab east of the Sutlej river, were permanently conquered by the English In these wars, Arthur Wellesley, brother of Lord Wellesley, and after-

Napoleon
in Egypt,
1798-1799

Results in
Egypt and
India,
1798-1804.

wards Duke of Wellington, won his first great victories. Thus Napoleon's plan to crush British India and England only added Malta, Trinidad, and large parts of India to the British dominions, the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon had already been added by Pitt's prophetic foresight, but Egypt was restored to the Turks.

Fall of the
Directory
creation of
the
Consulate,
1799

On his arrival in France, Napoleon found the Directory once more looking for a soldier to save them from a feeble Jacobin plot, and from the effect of their blunders and losses. They had vainly ordered English goods to be seized anywhere and everywhere (1796), and had vainly invaded Ireland in order to aid their allies, the 'United Irishmen'. They had stopped payment of two thirds of the interest on the National Debt. Paul, son of Catherine the Great, Tsar of Russia, and Grand Master of the Knights of St John, being wroth with the French for seizing Malta, had united with the Austrians, who had driven the French out of Italy. So Napoleon, saying 'What have you done with France, which I left so brilliant? I left you peace, I find war. I left you victories, I find defeat,' persuaded or forced the Directors to resign, and the legislative body to invent a new constitution (November 11, 1799). The inventors went back to what they knew of Roman history, and revived Latin titles. Instead of five Directors there were three Consuls, like the triumvirs of old, who were appointed for a period of ten years, which was Caesar's period, and Napoleon was Chief Consul. Of the new assemblies one debated, and another decided, as in Harrington's book *Oceana*, a Senate construed constitutional law, and a small Council of State, which Napoleon named, settled—as in the former Irish and Scotch Parliaments—what laws should be proposed. A 'referendum' approved of the new constitution. Few punishments were inflicted, exiles were invited to

return, and six-sevenths of the Paris newspapers were suppressed

War was resumed, Napoleon won back Italy at the battle of Marengo (1799), Moreau, one of his generals, crushed Austria at Hohenlinden on the Middle Danube (1799), and at the Peace of Luneville (1801) France regained her gains of 1796-7, and occupied the west bank of the Rhine. Bavaria, having taken the part of Austria at Hohenlinden, was deprived of the western parts of the Palatinate, which had some twenty years back passed to her by inheritance. In pursuance of the treaty, all the prince-bishoprics and most of the free cities of Germany were suppressed (1803), but many of these were added to Bavaria, which thus gained more than she lost. Württemberg and Baden, which adjoin Bavaria on the west, received similar additions (1801-1803), and like Bavaria became the humble friends or dependent allies of France, until 1813.

England, which was marked out by Napoleon as his next victim, was attacked during the peace by other than military means. Napoleon made Naples and Spain agree to boycott English trade, and Spain agree to compel Portugal to do the same (1801). Paul I was bribed by the offer of Malta to close his ports and to persuade the Baltic powers to close their ports to the English—this agreement being known as the 'entente cordiale' of France and Russia (1800). This method of attack, which was borrowed from the ideas of the Jacobins of 1793, vanished into thin air. Nelson attacked Copenhagen and forced Denmark to desist, Paul became mad and was assassinated, and Paul's successor, Alexander I, was hostile to Napoleon. Religious peace was made between France and the Pope (1801-1802). Last of all, in March 1802 the Peace of Amiens was made by Napoleon with England, but not with Pitt. In 1800 Pitt

passed an Act of Union with Ireland, because the Irish Parliament had since 1782 been free from the restraints of Poynings' Act, and the Irish people had since 1793 favoured the French enemies of England. This new Act of Union was like that old Act which united England and Scotland, but the amount paid to Irish vested interests was thrice the amount paid to Scotch vested interests, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland did not insist on but merely asked for equal treatment in the British Parliament. Pitt wanted, but George III refused, to give them what they asked for, therefore Pitt resigned (1801), and the Peace of Amiens was the work of his successor.

Peace and
the Con-
sulate for
life (1802)

During the peace which followed Napoleon made himself sole master of France. The French Senate, mindful of Augustus, offered him the Consulate for a second term of ten years, after the first term should expire, and Napoleon, improving upon the example of Augustus, accepted the Senate's offer as though it had been an offer of the Consulate for life, and put this offer before the voters by means of a referendum. Three and a half million voters ratified his acceptance (1802). Then Napoleon obtained, like Cromwell, a right to name his successor, and the right (which also belongs to English kings) to make treaties and to dissolve the legislative body (August 1802).

Peace and
Holland,
Italian
states, &c

These treaties of Amiens and Luneville proved mere truces. They contained provisions that Switzerland, Holland, and Italy should be free, yet Napoleon proceeded to make them vassal states. He put garrisons into Holland and Switzerland, made Piedmont part of France, and induced or compelled the Cisalpine Republic to elect him its president for ten years.

The new
empire
(1804)

At the beginning of 1803 Napoleon boasted that Holland, Italy, and Switzerland were 'at the disposal of

France', England protested, Napoleon seized Hannover and levied money there and in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and gathered together an immense army at Boulogne for the invasion of England (1803-1805) At home, a royalist plot was suppressed, General Moreau, who was the last of the real republicans—Carnot had already retired (1801)—was exiled, and the Duke of Enghien, who was seized in South Germany, was tried secretly and executed by Napoleon's orders, neither Moreau nor the duke being really guilty of the plot. Then the Senate offered and a referendum conferred on Napoleon the title of 'Emperor of the French', and the Pope came to Paris and crowned him, or was about to crown him, as Charlemagne was crowned, when, like Charlemagne's first successor, he snatched the crown from the Pope and crowned himself (December 1804). In this year the first of the Codes of Law, which the Constituent Assembly promised, was completed, thanks to Napoleon's energy, and the other Codes soon followed. In 1805 Napoleon visited Milan, was crowned with the old crown of the Lombard kings of Italy, and annexed Genoa and its neighbourhood, this being regarded by Austria and Russia as a challenge to war. Before they could unite, Napoleon swooped down with two hundred thousand men from Hannover, Holland, Boulogne, and elsewhere, upon the Middle Danube, captured Mack's Austrian army at Ulm, occupied Vienna, and then he smashed both Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz (1805). Four days after Ulm, Nelson smashed the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, dying like Wolfe and Abercromby, in the hour of his supreme victory. Pitt, who was once more the English Prime Minister (1804-1806), on hearing of Austerlitz, said 'Roll up that map (of Europe), it will not be wanted these ten years,' and died. Napoleon did change that map, and the

change lasted just ten years. He made the friendly principedoms of Bavaria and Württemberg into vassal kingdoms, and abolished the Holy Roman Empire (1806), the last Holy Roman Emperor becoming the first Emperor of Austria, and the word Emperor bearing henceforth for the first time in European history its modern meaning of 'king over kings' (like Negus Negusti, Shah in-Shah, or Khakan in the East). / Napoleon increased his list of vassal kings by making his brother Joseph King of Naples, and his brother Louis King of Holland. He stripped Austria of many of its duchies, adding Tirol to Bavaria, 'Dalmatia' (on the east shores of the Adriatic) to Italy, Bavaria having yielded to Napoleon Julich on the Lower Rhine (which she instead of Prussia had at last inherited) was made a kingdom. He also bestowed numerous Italian and German fiefs and duchies on his officers and ministers after the manner of Charlemagne. Austria made peace.

After Austerlitz, Napoleon quartered his troops on German lands, and Prussia, Saxony, and Russia took up arms. Prussia and Saxony were smashed at Jena (1806), and Napoleon occupied Berlin, whence he issued his 'Berlin Decree' making ships that traded with Great Britain the lawful prize of war. Then Napoleon, singing, so to speak, the old songs of freedom which he had sung in Italy, entered the romantic country of the unfortunate Poles, occupied Warsaw, added Poland, which he called the Duchy of Warsaw, to Saxony, which was now allied to him, and defeated the Tsar at Friedland in East Prussia (1807). The Tsar was then persuaded to join the boycott against England and to compel Denmark and Sweden to do the same. England replied by seizing the Danish fleet at Copenhagen (1807), and by issuing Orders in Council, threatening to treat ports which excluded British ships as blockaded.

Jena,
Fried-
land,
Germany,
Portugal,
1806-1808

ports with which no ship might trade In Germany, Prussia lost not only Posen and Warsaw on its east, but all its possessions west of the Elbe, where a new vassal kingdom of Westphalia was created out of these possessions and out of the remains of Hannover, Cassel, and Brunswick for Napoleon's brother Jerome, Saxony became another vassal kingdom, and a so-called 'confederation of the Rhine' put Mecklenburg, Saxony, Westphalia, Württemberg, Bavaria, and the whole east bank of the Rhine under the heels of France, which trained French conscripts there, and drew German conscripts thence for use in France Napoleon then made a treaty with Spain to divide Portugal between Spain and France, his general, Junot, seized Lisbon (1807), and the King of Spain was lured into France, and made to yield his crown to Joseph, brother of Napoleon, who in turn yielded the crown of Naples and Sicily to Napoleon's general, Murat (1808)

Napoleon was now at the zenith of his glory The little corporal had raised himself by the means which Caesar and Charlemagne had used to heights greater than they had attained Twelve years previously France was alone against the world, more so than England, or Frederick the Great, or Louis XIV had ever been Now every state in Europe was subject to France, or lent itself (like Austria and Russia) to French designs or rather every state except one England alone had not bowed her knee to Baal Having saved herself and her colonies by her fleet, she now put into westernmost Portugal a tiny army, led by the Duke of Wellington, in order, as dying Pitt said, to 'save Europe by her example' Napoleon was sending embassies to Persia, and was making plans with Russia to divide Turkey between France and Russia, and to invade India, and was dreaming dreams even of Australia, when this

Napoleon
supreme
except for
England,
1807-1808.

little cloud which was so soon to overspread Europe appeared in the far western sky

Wellington and Moore in Portugal and Spain, 1808-1809

Early in July 1808 the Duke of Wellington started from Ireland to save Portugal and Spain from France. Late in July there was a Spanish rebellion against French misrule on the Guadalquivir, and a French army surrendered to the rebels at Baylen. In August Wellington won the battle of Vimeiro in Portugal against Napoleon's general, Junot, who then left Portugal with his army, while Wellington left for England, but his army remained in Portugal. Napoleon himself flew to Spain with three hundred thousand men, and reached Madrid. Sir John Moore marched with the British army of Portugal up the valley of the Douro into Spain, and was joined by Baird, who had come with a fresh British army from Corunna in the far north-west. The British army now numbered thirty thousand, and though all Spaniards cheered them, no Spaniards joined them. Napoleon started in pursuit of Moore, and failed to overtake him, but sent on part of his army in pursuit, and at last Moore fell in his hour of victory over the pursuing Frenchmen at Corunna. Moore's campaign turned all Napoleon's campaign utterly awry. Then Tirol revolted, Austria mobilized her army, and Napoleon left Spain in order to wage war against Austria.

Austrian and Spanish Wars, 1809

In 1809 Napoleon once more invaded Austria from the Rhine, seized Vienna, won a victory in the suburbs of Vienna at Wagram, and transferred all the Austrian duchies on the Adriatic to France, and the greater part of Austrian Galicia to the duchy of Warsaw, where the King of Saxony had little power, and where France alone had an ambassador. All the second and third partitions of Poland were undone so far as regards Prussia and Austria, not, however, in the interests of Poland, which was merely the vassal of France. At the

same time French armies seized the Papal States, carried off the Pope by force to France, and annexed Holland, Hannover, and the northern coasts of Germany, including Swedish Pomerania and Oldenburg, whose duke was the brother-in-law of the Tsar. The Archbishop of Paris, acting under orders, annulled Napoleon's marriage with Josephine, and Napoleon now married Marie Louise, daughter of the Austrian Emperor (1810). Then the Tsar, being wroth with Napoleon on the Duke of Oldenburg's account, re-opened his ports to English trade; Sweden followed suit, and Napoleon aided by his father-in-law, and sweeping Prussia in as his ally, led an army of 680,000 men against Russia.

Meanwhile, Wellington arrived once more in Lisbon, and drove the French again and again out of Portugal from his base at Torres Vedras on the Atlantic coast of Portugal (1809-1810), won victory after victory on the Spanish reaches of the Tagus, Douro, and Guadiana during five strenuous years of constant fighting, never losing a single gun (1809-1813). In 1813 he won the crowning victory of Vittoria, near the sources of the Ebro, and invaded South western France at the head of a British, Spanish, and Portuguese army. The British were fighting not for themselves but for the Spaniards and Portuguese, whom they taught to fight, and who were fighting for their national existence. It is through Wellington that the south-western peninsula of Europe awoke out of its sleep and shook off the yoke of its foreign despot. But Wellington's part in the great drama, though glorious, was no longer the leading part in 1812-1813, for the leading part was being played two thousand miles away to the east.

There was also a third and puny part which was being played three thousand miles to the west. The Berlin Decree of Napoleon called forth, as I said, British

Peninsular
War,
1809-1814.

The
American
war of
1812-1814.

Orders in Council (November 1807), which called forth Napoleon's Milan Decree (December 1807), and these British Orders and French Decrees seriously injured neutral traders. The United States of America, incensed by the British Orders, declared war against Great Britain just four days before they were revoked. Except England, the European kingdoms were in ashes, over which England at much risk to herself bent breathing on each faint spark in the hope of lighting once more some sacred flame, and that was the moment at which the United States stepped forth to help the author of all this ruin, who was even then about to try to reduce Russia to dust. The English-American war dragged on for two years in Canada, and on the ocean, and although it hampered the foremost champion of European freedom, it did not delay the doom of the European despot which was imminent.

Moscow,
1812-1813

The monster army of 680,000 men, which Napoleon now led against Russia, was half foreign, half French. Napoleon, like Jenghis Khan and Attila, had always had foreigners in his army—Poles and Italians in 1796, one hundred thousand men of every nation in 1806-1807—fighting, not as mercenaries for mere pay, but for plunder, or fancied freedom, or vainglory, and he and his wars fused Europeans of different races far more completely than they had been fused since the days of the first Crusade. This was his first and last attack upon a Slavonic race in their Slavonic homes, and the Russians played with him the same game that they had played with Charles XII of Sweden, retiring and devastating as they retired. Although Charles's army was only one-fifteenth the size of Napoleon's army, yet even it could not survive the want and cold of a severe Russian winter. Napoleon's army reached Moscow, which was occupied and burnt in September 1812. One month later it began to retreat.

westward The winter was not very cold for Russia, nevertheless, only a few stragglers out of that great army ever reached the Austrian or German frontiers, on their return march of five hundred or six hundred miles, and the rest perished on the way So great a tragedy to so great an army had never yet been seen in Europe

Then Prussia woke up out of her sleep Prussia had ^{Prussia, Leipzig, Paris, Elba} lost herself in Polish, French, and Austrian politics, ever since Frederick the Great's death. After Jena (1806 et seq.) three great ministers came into power, in what was left of Prussia—Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst—and songs of freedom, very different from Napoleon's songs, began to be heard in every nook and corner of Germany The burden of these songs was that Prussia must redeem Germany from her slavery to France In 1813 the time for singing ceased, and the time for acting came The wrecked spars of Napoleon's shattered army drifted, or were driven, west of the Elbe Bernadotte, Napoleon's former general, now expectant heir of the King of Sweden, led Swedes and others, Blücher led Prussians and others, and Schwartzenberg led Austrians and others towards the fateful city of Leipzig, where Napoleon had with miraculous energy gathered together a new army of four hundred thousand men, although all Germany, except Saxony, had deserted him There Napoleon fought and was beaten, but once more he escaped to France In 1814 he was again at the head of a new army, with which he fought losing battles in and for France—this being almost the first time he had ever fought losing battles, or on French soil, and the very first time for nearly twenty years that Frenchmen had fought not for conquest but for national existence Nevertheless, the victors at Leipzig entered Paris, and Napoleon abdicated (April 1814), and went as a prisoner to Elba, a tiny island in the Mediterranean,

his empress, Marie Louise, and her baby son, the short-lived 'King of Rome', going to Vienna. In these last battles of Napoleon a new spirit had shown itself in Europe. Napoleon had ignored, stifled, or tried to melt into one mass the national spirits of the different nations of Europe, he treated Europe as one country under him, he showed supreme genius and trod faithfully in the footsteps of history—and with what result? Never before had the instinct, which insists on separate national existence, burnt with so pure or fierce a flame in British, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Austrian, and lastly, in French spirits.

Waterloo,
1815

Louis XVIII, brother of the king who was executed in 1793, now became King of France. He was fat, gouty, and old. France passed from its dreamland and delirious excitement to dull drab prose. In February 1815 Napoleon escaped from Elba, and passed through France to Paris, rekindling more than all the wild enthusiasms of his journey of sixteen years previously. He was like some magician with a magic wand in his hand, and wherever he went and wherever he waved his wand, France changed back again into the fairyland which it had so lately been. On March 16 the fat king stood before his Parliament and said he would now end his life 'by dying in defence of his country', and his noble words were echoed by his audience. Three days later he fled, and no one even noticed that he had fled, for every one was busy welcoming the great magician back to his capital. Once more the nations flew to arms.

Prussians from the east and British from the north arrived in Belgium to protect the Belgic frontier. Wellington commanded the latter, and Blücher the former. On June 16 Napoleon attacked part of Wellington's army at Quatre Bras, twenty miles due south

of Brussels, and defeated Blücher and his 83,000 men at Ligny, nine miles east by south of Quatre Bras. Next day Blücher and Wellington retired ten miles or so due north, on parallel lines, although Napoleon made sure that Blücher would retire east. On June 18 Napoleon with 74,000 veterans attacked Wellington on the plains of Waterloo. Wellington had 67,000 men, one third British, one-third from Hannover and other states which Napoleon had blotted out of the map of Germany, and the remaining third consisted of Dutch, Belgian, and other soldiers, some of whom had once fought for Napoleon, or were timid and ran away. The greater part of Wellington's army fought well, and sustained attack after attack, until late in the afternoon, when part of Blücher's forces joined them from the east. Then Wellington attacked, but left the pursuit to Blücher. The French lost 40,000 men, Blücher 7,000, and Wellington 15,000 men. A month later the allies once more entered Paris, and Napoleon abdicated and surrendered to the English, who afterwards sent him to the island of St. Helena and kept him there for the rest of his life.

A congress of all the powers, who were now divided into the five Great Powers—England, Austria, France, Prussia and Russia—and the lesser powers, met at Vienna in order to undo or confirm or amend the recent changes in the map of Europe (1814-1815). 'Westphalia' was abolished, Prussia, Hannover, Cassel, Naples, Savoy and Piedmont, the Papal States, Lombardy, Illyria, and Tirol, and many French and Dutch colonies were restored to their former owners. The following recently made changes were adopted. Austria kept Venice and Dalmatia, and lost her Rhenish fiefs, Genoa passed to Piedmont, the 260, or more, prince-bishoprics, free cities, and the like, which used to make the map of

Congress
of Vienna,
1814-1815.

Germany piebald, remained suppressed, Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and Malta remained English, England paying Holland compensation. The following new changes were made. Sweden gave up its German possessions and received Norway in exchange, Belgium and Holland were put under one king, who was the former Prince of Orange, Hannover became a kingdom which abutted on the North Sea, Prussia got what is now Rhenish Prussia—including Jülich (at last), Trier, and Cologne—thus becoming sole guardian of the Lower Rhine. Warsaw and most of Great Poland passed to Russia. A new German Confederation—not unlike Napoleon's Confederation—was formed under the presidency of Austria, and consisted of thirty-nine states, which had a Diet with vague powers. The Great Powers promised to guarantee these arrangements and to meet often to discuss points which might arise.

Comments
on the new
Europe as
created at
Vienna.

In this new edition of the map of Europe, dead kingdoms, like Poland, and dead city states like Genoa and Venice were not revived, and cities ceased to be states, having proved themselves inferior to nation states ever since 1494. Norway was thrown into the arms of Sweden, and Belgium into the arms of Holland without Norwegian or Belgian consent, but what else could be done with Belgium? When Belgium was weak and the title to Belgium was doubtful it was like matchwood, and the least fire in or near its borders invariably spread to all its neighbours. When Austrians or Spaniards owned it, they sent troops there through Germany or France, and when France seized a little of it, Holland was frightened into war. The German confederation, though simplified, was like a bundle of sticks loosely tied together, and Italy was not even tied into one bundle, because problems like these lie outside the power of congresses, and can only be solved by war.

Meanwhile, it may be noted that every thousand years or so Europe strives to become one Italy under Caesar, Germany under Charlemagne, and France under Napoleon tried to unite Europe, and as the result of these attempts Italy and Germany were in 1815 the least united parts of Europe The French, in attempting to unite Europe, attempted also to suppress European freedom, so that wherever Napoleon prevailed historians and poets were dumb, and these efforts rightly failed, but the congress of the powers, and more especially of the five Great Powers, took on, or promised to take on, the French task not as the foes, but as the guardians of freedom and national spirit That at least was their aim and profession

This chapter may be summed up thus The French Revolutionists wanted Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, but from the very first they armed, they were tyrannical, and they attacked their neighbours So the light, which they lit, became a fire, and many petty tyrants changed into one great soldier tyrant, who almost subdued Europe Then the soldier tyrant was subdued, the fire died out after burning much rubbish, and the European nations asserted the equal right of each to exist as a separate nation How each tried to create Liberty, Equality, and National character for itself, peacefully, and with the consent of all, will be told in my next chapters

CHAPTER VIII

THE MODERN AGE, AND THE NATIONS OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE

The factory
system
changes
European
popula-
tions

WHILE Europe was seething with war, a great age in European history passed away and a new age dawned. It was as though summer had been followed by a second and more glorious summer. The character of history had been changed three centuries previously by three inventions—gunpowder, the compass, and printing—without which Europe would not have had colonies in America or India, nor would Protestantism or general wars have swept over Europe. So now, the use of steam-power and machinery made the world seem new. Hand-weavers, hand spinners and the like died out, and from end to end of Europe there was a hum of iron engines fed by coal and driven by steam. Millions of homely, skilled, thrifty cottagers were replaced on the one hand by some captain of industry, managing some company, composed of thousands of shareholders, unknown to one another, and on the other hand by thousands of men, women, and children herded together in factories, where they minded machines which did what human brains and hands used to do. Wealth and population shifted from the southern peninsulas of Europe, where there is little iron, except in Spain, and little or no coal, to England, France, Germany, and Belgium, where coal and iron abound. In the old Roman Empire fifty-two per cent of the civilized Europeans dwelt in Italy, Spain, or Portugal, but now less than fourteen per cent, or, excluding Russia, nineteen per cent dwell there. The

superiority of the South was doubtful in 1492, and more than doubtful in 1780. The superiority of the North was assured in 1821, and overwhelming in 1911. At least that seems one of the lessons to be inferred from the following table of population.

| | Population × 1,000,000 | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------|
| | B C 14 | <i>Circa</i> 1492 | <i>Circa</i> 1780 | <i>Circa</i> 1821 | 1911 |
| Italy | 6 | 9 | 13 | 18 | 35 |
| Spain and Portugal | 6 | 9 | 12 | 13 | 26 |
| France | 3½ | 13 | 25 | 30 | 40 |
| England, Scotland, } and Ireland } | | 5 | 13 | 21 | 45 |
| Germany | | | 20 ⁹ | 27 | 65 |
| Austria and Hungary | | 10 | 20 | 27 | 49 |
| Russia in Europe | | | 27 | 45 | 131 |
| Civilized Europe | 23 | | 130* ⁹ | 181* | 445* |

* Note Excluding lesser states

The industrial change which made it possible for two men to live and thrive where one man used to live and starve is known as the Introduction of the Factory System. Had it not been for the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, this change would have come sooner and not so abruptly. The germs lay in Watt's and Arkwright's inventions but its growth was stunted and concealed by the dust and ashes spread by those forces of destruction, so that in 1815 it burst suddenly full-blown Increases wealth.

into view (In 1814 Robert Owen formed a small British company to work his model factory, in 1815 he drafted the first project for regulating factories by law, and in 1819 this project became known as the first Factory Act. Shortly after 1820 numerous joint-stock companies were formed in Great Britain to work new industries there and in British colonies. The first steamer crossed the Atlantic in the year of Watt's death (1819), in 1820-1821 an iron steamer was built, Stephenson constructed the first practical railway engine in 1815, and passenger trains soon ran in England (1825), America (1829), and France (1832). Telegraphs (1843), telephones (1876), electric lighting (1878), motor cars (1894), wireless telegraphs (1896), motor balloons (1900), and flying machines (1908) came into use later. The production of wealth with the aid of machinery stimulated the exchange of wealth, and exchange stimulated production. But there was a dark side to the picture.

Involves
loss

By the side of greater wealth there was loss and distress. The modern English law of bankruptcy dates from 1826. Many thousands of soldiers were disbanded in 1815, and persons who depended on old methods of industry found themselves no longer of any use. In 1816 English mobs¹ destroyed machinery. Between the dates of the French writer Bodin (1576), and the English writer Malthus (1798), almost every European thinker held that more men meant more wealth, but in 1798 Malthus argued that men increased more quickly than wealth, so that more wealth for all meant less wealth for each, and after 1815 almost every European thinker held Malthus's view. From 1816 onwards English Parliamentary and other committees discussed distress and the Poor Law, and urged emigration as the cure, and for the next thirty or forty years emigration was preached

¹ 'Luddite' and 'Shearman' riots.

as a duty by men of thought like Coleridge, Whately, and Carlyle, and was made into a working system by men of energy like Wakefield. Work in factories meant work in crowds, crowds meant dirt, and war against dirt began. Clean towns, which make Europe so unlike Asia, owe much of their cleanness to Sir Edwin Chadwick, who began his war against dirt in 1828. Methods and ideas of health were as new as methods and ideas of wealth.

In the region of pure politics the countries of Europe accepted the world as they found it in 1815 and did not try to bring the dead back to life. They usually admitted that all men were equal before the law, and they adopted, or said that they were about to adopt, British Parliamentary institutions or something of the same sort. The Great Powers, England, Prussia, Austria, and France, agreed to prevent by force the return in France (or elsewhere) of revolutionary or Napoleonic outbreaks which threatened other countries, and the Tsar and others grandly declared that European countries were governed by the principles of the New Testament. Therefore this agreement was called the Holy Alliance, but Englishmen refused to discuss the New Testament, and maintained that the two words which I have put in brackets formed no part of the agreement. The aim of the Holy Alliance was noble but impossible. European nations were regarded by the French writer Voltaire as 'members of one family' (1752), by the Austrian statesman Kaunitz as 'united by a common cause' (1791), by the Russian Tsar Alexander I as a 'Confederation' (1804), and as 'brothers' (1814). Napoleon said to Alexander (1807), 'What is Europe if it is not you and I?' and now that Napoleon was gone Alexander's idea of a European 'brotherhood' revived, and it was as fine as well as a natural thing that

The Holy
Alliance

✓

the big brothers should save one another and their younger brothers from the ills that states are heir to. But the big brothers never had the same ideas about these ills or about the treatment to be applied. What Russia regarded as anarchy, England regarded as progress, and Englishmen hailed with enthusiasm efforts by a nation to throw off a foreign yoke or to resent foreign dictation. From the first, too, England denied that she had any right to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country unless things were very desperate. There was so much disagreement that every war threatened to be a general confused war like those of the New Age, and so much agreement that almost every serious war turned out to be a duel between two nations only, like those of many centuries ago, but unlike past duels, the great duels of the nineteenth century were very brief and were fought by one nation which resented subjection to or dictation by another nation.

Spain,
1814-1874

Three waves of unrest agitated the Continent of Europe—one in 1820, one in 1830, and one in 1848, but it was not until after 1848 that the effect was clearly seen which they had upon the shores on which they beat. The first signs of coming trouble were seen in the southern peninsulas of Europe, where Spain and Portugal made idle efforts to build up or rebuild freedom on a foundation of military mutiny. Joseph Bonaparte introduced (1812), Ferdinand VII, the Bourbon Spanish king, abolished (1814), and mutinous soldiers restored (1820) Parliamentary institutions in Spain. One mutiny caused another, and some Spanish soldiers, declaring that the king was no longer free, set up a government of their own. In 1823 a French army, with the consent of the Holy Alliance, marched through Spain, freed Ferdinand VII from his ministers and withdrew. After five years of despotism Ferdinand remarried

(1829), became liberal, and died (1833), leaving a baby daughter, Isabella II. The late king's brother, Don Carlos, claimed the throne on the ground that women could not inherit it, and there was a seven years' war of succession between the Carlists, who wanted despotism, and the followers of Isabella, who favoured Parliaments. Isabella won, but Carlist wars (1846-1876) and mutinies were resumed from time to time. In 1868 Isabella was deposed, a republic was tried, German, French, and Italian princes were offered the throne, and in 1874 Isabella's son, Alfonso XII, became king. From 1820 to 1874 the army made or marred the political life of Spain, but in reality Spain had very little political life, it was half asleep, and while it was half asleep it lost its American possessions.

When Joseph became King of Spain, the Spanish colonists appointed new governors to keep their colonies true to Ferdinand (1810 et seq.), forgot the reason of their action, and with the exception of Mexico and Peru, set up as independent republics. After Ferdinand's restoration troops came from Old Spain and recovered New Granada on the north of South America, and the Peruvians recovered Chile. The mutiny of 1820 in Spain led to the triumph of the Spanish-American rebels. San Martin, who was a Spanish-American, won Chile and part of Peru (1821), Bolívar, who was also a Spanish-American, and was known as 'the Liberator' or the 'Dictator', won New Granada and the rest of Peru, 1823, Buenos Aires had been independent since 1816, Monroe, President of the United States, stated that he would not allow Europeans to make conquests or reconquests in America, 1823, and the last fight was fought at Ayacucho (1824). Mexico also revolted in 1820, and in 1822 set up an emperor! Cuba and one or two smaller islands in the

Spanish
America,
1810-1824
and 1898

West Indies, and the Philippine Islands remained Spanish until 1898, at which date Cuba was in a state of chronic revolt, and the United States stepped in and relieved Spain of the last of her colonies beyond the ocean

Portugal
and Portu-
guese pos-
sessions,
1807-1852,
1910

As the French entered Lisbon (1807) John VI, King of Portugal, and his Court fled to Brazil and refused to return. The example of the Spanish mutiny of 1820 caused a Portuguese mutiny in 1820 with similar objects, and the king hurried back, leaving his eldest son Pedro in Brazil (1821). Brazil revolted in 1822, and in 1823 made Pedro its 'Emperor', so that there were two 'Emperors' in the Western continent! In 1826 John VI died, Pedro renounced his rights to the Portuguese throne and Pedro's infant daughter, Maria II, succeeded. The army in the north declared for Pedro's brother Miguel, who wanted despotism. There was chaos, trade stopped; and at last England sent troops and restored order (1827), Miguel becoming regent. Then the Portuguese made Miguel king (1828), and Pedro, helped by Admiral Sir Charles Napier, an Englishman in his employment, restored Maria II by force of arms. And so the dreary story went on, of mutinies, rebellions, causing or caused by reforms or the opposite, and of paths of progress strewn with gunpowder and swords. After 1852 comparative quiet returned. But Portugal has been listless and restless ever since, in 1908 its king was killed, and in 1910 it tried republicanism, and Spanish and Portuguese America have also displayed the same characteristics, but in a far greater degree.

Italy (1820-1821),
Greece
(1821-1829)

A spark from the fire which the Spaniards lit (1820) flew west to Italy and thence to Greece. Military mutineers demanded the Spanish constitution of 1812 in Naples, which was under a Spanish Bourbon king.

The king yielded but cried for help to Austria, which then ruled Lombardy and Venice, and an Austrian army subdued the mutineers (1820-1821). The same demand was made in the same way in Piedmont, the King of Sardinia resigned his throne, and his successor suppressed the rebels with Austrian help (1821). It was now that the Spanish spark flew further eastward across the Adriatic to the land of the unruly Slav and boastful Greek. There firewood, so to speak, was plentiful, and half-extinguished fires were smouldering. In 1804 the Servians rose successfully against their Turkish governors, Russia, which ever since 1774 claimed to protect Rumanian self-government under Turkey, helped them for awhile (1807-1812), and at last they were allowed self-government and a prince of their own under Turkey (1817). Greek societies had been formed in the Balkan States in order to imitate the Servian example, and the leaders of these societies heard of the Italian ferment. They began the great rebellion of the Greeks against Turkey. In 1821 there was a rising of Rumanians and Greeks in Rumania, and massacres of Turks in the southern peninsula of Greece. The Turks suppressed the former but not the latter, for they had no ships. In 1824 Mehemet Ali, who ruled Egypt under the Sultan, sent ships and men under his son, Ibrahim, from Egypt, and now the Turks began to triumph in their savage way, and it was feared that no Greek would survive their fury, so some of the Western powers began to think that the 'Eastern Question', as it was now called, concerned them. Tsar Nicholas (1825-1855) wished to save the Greeks, but Metternich, the Austrian minister, held him back, fearing that he would make Greece a Russian province. Even Canning, the English minister, whose motto it was 'to avoid interference in

the internal concerns of any nation' (1822), could not hold aloof, and Russia at last persuaded England to offer to mediate between Turkey and Greece, but Turkey refused the offer. Then Russia declared war (1827), an English fleet, helped by French and Russian ships, destroyed the Egyptian fleet at Navarino (1827), and Russian troops invaded Turkey and reached Adrianople, where a treaty was concluded under which self government under Turkey with princes of their own choice was secured to Rumania, Servia, and Greece (1828). Then the Great Powers conferred, and at last Greece was made a sovereign state under its own king, and its existence was guaranteed not by the Holy Alliance—which was now finally dissolved—but by the three powers which saved Greece, namely, Russia, France, and England (1832).

Revolu-
tions in
France,
Belgium,
Poland,
Italy, 1830

In 1830 France led the way towards civil strife, Charles X, King of France (1824-1830), had despotic instincts, like Miguel, Don Carlos, and the others, but his Parliament became more and more Liberal, especially after Navarino. In July 1830 he defied his Parliament, dissolved it, and in exercise of a supposed power in the constitution proclaimed a new electoral law. Parliament ignored him and went on sitting, riots occurred, and three days later Charles X fled. Parliament proclaimed the Sovereignty of the People and abolished the power under which Charles acted, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, and cousin of Charles X, was invited to become king under the amended constitution (1830-1848), and he accepted the invitation. Charles X abdicated, and a revolution was accomplished more speedily and peacefully than the English revolution of 1688, to whose methods and principles it was similar. Belgian mobs caught the French infection and rioted. Their grievance was that the Belgian and Dutch people always

voted different ways and formed opposite parties ; that Belgium, being rich in coal and iron, had different interests to Holland, and that Holland, though less populous and rich, had as many deputies in Parliament as Belgium, and with the help of one or two Belgian officials always outvoted Belgians. Efforts to suppress the mobs by force made riot ripen into a serious rebellion. There was a conference at London in which England and France sided with Belgium, and Austria and Russia sided with the king. English counsels prevailed, and Belgium became a separate monarchy under King Leopold I (1831), and was guaranteed as such by the Great Powers. Russia had opposed not only the claims of Belgium but those of Louis Philippe, but her hands were tied by a revolution which broke out in Poland in imitation of the July revolution in France. The Poles enjoyed some constitutional freedom, the Tsar ruled as Polish king, and Poland was regarded as a separate kingdom (1815-1830), but the rebels wished more freedom, and wished also to include parts of Lithuania in Poland. They were defeated (1831), Poland became part and parcel of Russia, and the last trace of its separate existence was trampled out. Next, Italy was ablaze, not in Piedmont and Naples as before, but in Parma and Modena, whose rulers were descendants of the Emperor Francis I, and in the States of the Church. Once more Austrians supported governors against governed (1830-1831). These events burnt into the heart of a young Genoese, named Mazzini, who now taught that all Italy was one, that its enemy was one, and that the meaning of what happened in 1820 and 1830 was that a duel was being fought between Austria and Italy, and that in that duel Italy was expressing, Austria was suppressing, high aspirations after a national existence founded not on Rights and Delights, but on

Duty and Self sacrifice He addressed his rare and lofty writings to 'Young Italy', and his words made heroes He was a republican, who suspected kings and foreigners, and urged Italians to rely only on one another, and he thenceforth consecrated his life to the task of feeding the sacred fire of Italian unity and patriotism As Dante was the poet, so Mazzini was the prophet of his country

France before 1848

After 1830 revolutionists, according to Metternich (1833), had only one aim, namely 'property', and their goal was what is called 'Socialism' The French Government meanwhile desired a spirited foreign policy, and Louis Philippe restrained it with difficulty from offering help to Poles, Italians, and Spaniards, so he turned towards Africa and the Pacific Ocean First, he interfered in Algiers in order to punish insults to Frenchmen, and this interference led to conquests (1839 et seq.) He wished to, but dared not, help Mehemet Ali of Egypt Mehemet had French advisers and revolted against Turkey, and his son Ibrahim overran Syria and Asia Minor (1831-1832, 1834-1840), a Russian fleet saving European Turkey from Ibrahim (1833), and an English fleet, under Sir Charles Napier, finally bringing both Mehemet and Ibrahim to terms (1840) Russia, Austria, and Prussia guaranteed 'the integrity of Turkey' at Münchengrätz (1833), England adding her guarantee at London (1840) France held aloof Thiers, the biographer of Napoleon I, was at this time Prime Minister of France, and he and his friends began to talk ominously of 'French possessions in North Africa', 'Rhine frontiers', and the like, as though they meant mischief in Egypt or against Germany He also sent expeditions to New Zealand, the Marquesas and Tahiti in the Pacific After 1840 Guizot, another historian, guided the destinies of France into safer ways.

✓ Guizot diverted Frenchmen and irritated Englishmen for a while by completing the annexations of the Marquesas and Tahiti which Thiers had begun, and by harmless projects of marriage between Louis Philippe's son and Isabella, Queen of Spain, or her sister. Then Thiers arranged big banquets in which a spirited foreign policy and universal suffrage were advocated, and at which republicans assisted. At last Guizot forbade what was to have been the biggest of all these banquets (February 22, 1848), the mob rose, Guizot was dismissed, the king resigned (February 24), a republic was formed which offered work (and wages) to all and opened 'National Workshops' (February 27), and universal suffrage became the law of the land. Four months later the socialistic workshops failed and were closed, not without bloodshed, and five months later still, Louis, son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, was elected first President of the Republic by universal suffrage (December 1848). The so called 'Social Republic' vanished. With the aid of universal suffrage (and the army) the president enlarged his term of office (December 1851), and took the title of Napoleon III, Emperor of the French (1852-1870). His rule proved almost as despotic as his uncle's rule, and his policy was a pale reflexion of his uncle's policy. Compared to his uncle he was as shadow is to substance, or moon to sun. ✓

The French revolution of 1848

These events in Paris awoke echoes in the cities of Italy, Hungary, Austria, Germany, and elsewhere. Italy 1848-1849
Sicily, Milan, Venice, Parma, Modena, and Naples rose against their rulers, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia (1831-1849), levied war on Austria on their behalf (March 1848), and his minister Cavour wrote 'The hour of Fate has struck for the Sardinian Monarchy'. Volunteers rushed from the Papal States, Naples, and Tuscany to

join Charles Albert's army Early in 1849 Rome set up a republic under triumvirs, the chief of whom was Mazzini, with Garibaldi to defend it, Tuscany drove out its grand duke, and it seemed as though Italy were one and free Then the tide turned Charles Albert was beaten at Novara and resigned his throne (March), an Austrian army entered Florence (May), a French army restored the Pope's power at Rome (June), and peace reigned once more, but it was the peace of despair The sky that had been so bright became leaden in its hue

Austria,
Hungary,
1848-1849

Shocks of the political earthquake which shook Italy almost shattered Austria and Hungary In March 1848 Vienna rioted, Metternich fled, Slavs talked treason, and the Magyar, Kossuth, got a free Parliament and ministry for Hungary, but by freedom he meant not only freedom for Magyars from their German partners at Vienna, but freedom to rule over the Slavs of Croatia and to make them talk Magyar Soon afterwards he began to bribe soldiers in Hungary to desert their colours, with paper money, on which his own name was written, for he too was a socialist, and had the socialist's love of worthless paper money In May the Emperor Ferdinand summoned a National Convention at Vienna, new riots broke out, and the emperor fled In September Jellachich, Governor of Croatia, marched against the Magyars with a Slav army, and the Magyars slew their Austrian commander-in-chief In October Vienna was in revolt, the emperor called for help, an Austrian army restored order, and Jellachich, who also came to aid the emperor, was attacked by the Magyars on Austrian soil The Magyars were now open rebels In December Ferdinand abdicated in favour of Franz Josef (1849 et seq) In 1849 Kossuth became 'Responsible Governor President' of

Hungary, and proclaimed its independence, but in August his army surrendered and he fled to Turkey and England. The Austrians and Croats who regained Hungary were helped at the last moment by a Russian army. Kossuth was a noble, brilliant patriot who studied but misapplied the teachings of Mazzini. In Austria and Hungary there were men of three nations, not of two nations as in Italy, the first resistance to the Magyars came not from Austria but from the Slavs, and Austria took part as the friend of the oppressed Slavs. After these events Franz Josef governed without central Parliaments in Vienna or Hungary until 1861, when he created one Parliament for all his 'one and indivisible' dominions.

While thrones were tottering, Parliaments were ^{Germany, 1848-1850} appearing for the first time and disappearing and re-appearing in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany, and there was actually a German Parliament at Frankfort (1848-1850) which wished to make the Prussian king German Emperor. The German disorders were like pains of a growing child. There was also solid work done in quiet. In 1854 Prussia finished a Customs' Union between all the different states of Germany, but from which Austria was excluded and in which Prussia bore the leading part. This work began in 1818 and had nothing to do with the events of 1848. Nor, strictly speaking, had the Danish war with Prussia.

The three unrests of 1820, 1830, and 1848 had not ^{Danish War, 1848} wholly passed by when an old-world cloud suddenly reappeared upon the political horizon. A few years before this history began, the King of Denmark was chosen Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein—Holstein being part of Germany—on condition that these two states should not become part of Denmark and should not be divided from one another (1460).

In 1848 Frederick VII, King of Denmark, claimed Schleswig against the then Prince of Augustenburg and ordered that it should thenceforth be part of Denmark. Both Schleswig and Holstein pointed to their charter of 1460 and rebelled, and appealed to the Prince of Augustenburg and to the German Parliament at Frankfort. Prussia sent an army to help them, not on behalf of Germany, but on its own account, as its neighbour. There was a war, Prussia won by land, Denmark by sea, trade was stopped, England and Russia interfered, Austrian and other German states took part with Prussia, and peace was concluded at London (1852), under which the question of succession was settled in the King of Denmark's favour, and the rights conferred in 1460 were implicitly confirmed. Nevertheless Frederick VII went on uniting Schleswig to Denmark and made the union complete a day or two before his death in 1863. Then the new prince, son of the old Prince of Augustenburg who was dead, and the people of Schleswig and Holstein said that the London Agreement of 1852 did not bind them, and they rebelled. As before, Prussia and Austria came to their rescue, not to defend the claims of the prince, but to uphold the treaty of 1852 and the charter of 1460, the terms of which the Danes had broken. Though England threatened to protect Denmark, Prussia and Austria warred and won (1864), and quarrelled over the spoil and the claims of the young prince. The Prussian Austrian war followed (1866), in seven weeks Prussia crushed Austria at Koniggratz and elsewhere, after which Austria and Saxony, which sided with Austria, were left intact, but Hannover, Cassel, and Nassau, which had also sided with Austria, were made part of Prussia. A new North German Confederation was formed under Prussia, and the South German states, alarmed by Napoleon III's

demand, which he now made and withdrew, for a frontier on the Rhine, allied themselves to Prussia. Austria was no longer regarded as part of Germany, and Franz Josef separated his empire kingdom into halves, an Austrian and a Hungarian half with Parliaments and ministers. Austria and Hungary, though enjoying separate Parliaments, have been one state ever since, and the name of the one state is Austria-Hungary.

[It seemed as though the cause of the unity of Germany had been set back, but it had only stepped back for the last leap forward. These Prussian successes were largely due to King William I (1861-1888) and his three great ministers, or officers, Von Roon, who made his army, Moltke, who led it, and, above all, Bismarck, who was the foremost European statesman between 1862 and 1890. The last leap forward, and the last crowning success of Prussia, was due to the unwise policy of Napoleon III.

Napoleon III was a well meaning man, but he thought that it was his chief business in life and the chief duty of France to protect foreigners in their own country, to amend maps, and to play the part of an earthly Providence. His plans, had they succeeded, would have resembled those of Louis XIV rather than those of Napoleon I, because he aimed at small definite results and was cold blooded and deliberate in his methods. In 1852 Napoleon III claimed to protect Christians in Turkey under a long-forgotten grant, which Sultans of Turkey had made to Louis XIV and Louis XV. Immediately Nicolas, Tsar of Russia, threatened the Sultan on the ground that he was oppressing Christians of the Greek Church—whom successive Tsars had often protected in times past under the provisions of a treaty made in 1774.¹ Threats led to war by the Tsar against

Crimean
War,
1854-1856

¹ Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, 1774

Turkey, and France and England being bound by the Treaty of London (1840), and being alarmed by the Tsar's wild words about making all the Balkan provinces subject states of Russia, declared war on Russia in order to uphold 'the Integrity of Turkey'. In England the motive for going to war was not clearly expressed. Some men deemed it the duty of all men to war against one man who wantonly disturbed the peace—as the Russian Tsar did, others mumbled old phrases about that Balance of Power to which Francis I of France appealed 350 years previously. The war raged in the Crimea (1854–1855) for a while and ended in the Treaty of Paris, under which Austria, England, and France made it their special task to uphold the integrity and the self-government of Servia and Rumania, and the Sultan granted, or promised to grant, all sorts of reforms to his Christian subjects (1856). Men began to think that this war might some day prove to have been a creative war, to which some future Balkan federation might owe its being. We now pass to a war which was the mere sequel of what happened in 1820, 1830, 1848, and (to some extent) 1854, and which was creative in its motive as well as its result.

The Italian War and the kingdom of Italy, 1859–1861

Victor Emmanuel II, King of Sardinia (1849–1878), also took part in the Crimean War, by the advice of Cavour, and on the side of the allies. He wished French support in the Italian war that was about to be. From end to end of Italy Mazzini's disciples rebelled and were punished, and at last the guns, so to speak, went off by themselves. Volunteers from all Italy (including Garibaldi) and (as Cavour foresaw) Napoleon III joined Victor Emmanuel in sweeping Lombardy and the Venetian province clear of Austrians (1859), after which Napoleon III (as Mazzini foresaw) cried Halt! and as his reward severed Savoy and Nice from the

kingdom of Italy, as the kingdom of Sardinia was now called, and made them part of France, for, like his uncle, he wanted gain as well as glory. But the Italian tide was not stayed, Tuscany and the Papal States joined the new Italian kingdom, Garibaldi rushed triumphantly from the south through the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, meeting the Italian forces from the north in Naples (1860). In 1861 Victor Emmanuel became king of all Italy, except the city of Venice, which fell to him when Prussia beat Austria (1866), except the city of Rome, which the French guarded until Prussia beat France (1870), and except Savoy and Nice, which were now French. Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi were the three great men who made Italy. Cavour died in the year of its making, Mazzini 'bowed his head sorrowfully', for he yearned for a republic, yet if his desire had been fulfilled might not Italy have sunk back once more into that multitude of quarrelling cities which so many centuries of history had condemned? In Europe kings only have made great states. Even Garibaldi was not satisfied, for he had lost Nice, where he was born. Turning now from these three sad Italians to those three stern Prussians, we shall see how they too proved that kings alone make great states in Europe.

Napoleon III was as reckless in his plans for the West of Europe as Nicolas I was in his plans for the East, thus in 1866 he wanted Prussian help for the seizure of Belgium, whose independence France, England, Prussia, and other countries had guaranteed in 1839. After 1866 Thiers taunted him with allowing Prussia to become so strong, and he felt the taunt, because he, like Thiers, thought that the fate of German states depended on France. These views, or rather the spirit in which these views were held, brought him to his ruin. In 1870

The
Prussian-
French
War and
the Ger-
man
Empire,
1870

his Prime Minister, Emile Ollivier, said that 'at no epoch was the peace of Europe more assured' (July 1) Then Leopold, an obscure German prince, very distantly related to the King of Prussia, became candidate for the vacant Spanish throne, and Benedetti, the French ambassador, asked the King of Prussia to forbid the candidature. The king refused, but Leopold withdrew of his own accord (July 12). Next the French Government asked for an apology from the king, and Benedetti bade the king promise that he would never permit a Hohenzollern to become candidate again, but the king refused, nor would he allow Benedetti to reopen the question.¹ Bismarck, at his king's suggestion, published an account of these 'interviews', there was widespread alarm, on July 14 the emperor decided to go to war because of these answers to questions which he had no right to ask, first French, then Prussian (July 15), then South German (July 16) troops mobilized, and Napoleon declared war, saying, forsooth, that these refusals 'threatened France and the general Balance of Power' (July 19). In August the first serious battles were fought. On September 2 the emperor and a French army of 115,000 men were forced to surrender at Sedan. On September 5 Paris proclaimed a 'one and indivisible Republic' and appointed a Committee of National Defence consisting of Trochu, Favre, Ferry, Gambetta, and others, and these men sent Thiers on visits to various foreign Courts. Two weeks later the Germans shut up some 500,000 French soldiers inside Paris, which they besieged. Bismarck and Favre held parleys but could not agree, for Bismarck meant to 'fight out the quarrel forced upon us', and Favre would not yield 'a stone' even for a moment. In October

¹ See *Times*, November 24, 1892, G Rathlef, *Zur Frage nach Bismarck's Vorhalten*, Dorpat, 1903

a French army of 179,000 men was forced to surrender at Metz. On January 18, 1871, the Prussian king was proclaimed by the German princes and kings 'German Emperor' in Louis XIV's palace at Versailles, German unity was at last achieved, and Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg, as well as the states of North Germany, became members of a Federal Empire. On January 29 Paris surrendered, and in February the war ended. The greater part of Elsass and Lorraine was annexed or rather restored to Germany, a war indemnity was levied, and the German troops gradually left France. The present French Republic was founded, with Thiers as its first President. At the end of March a merely destructive revolution broke out in Paris, which was subdued two months later at the cost of the lives of 10,000 Revolutionists who were slain while fighting in the streets. After the French German War the two nations have never quite forgiven one another, but keep large armies a-foot for fear that war may be renewed. The Germans and Austrians (1879) and Italians (1882) formed an alliance to defend one another from any unprovoked attack by Russia or by France with Russian support, and this alliance—which goes by the name of the Triple Alliance—has lasted until now. France and Russia are said to have been allied since 1890, but the terms of the alliance are unknown.

After the Crimean War the Christian subjects of Turkey in Europe—Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Albanians—were constantly in revolt, and revolt provoked constant massacres. In 1875 the Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina rebelled, their neighbours and kindred rushed to their aid from Servia, from the tiny unconquered principedom of Montenegro, and from what is now Bulgaria. The Turks retaliated by five wholesale massacres of Bulgarians, in one of

Turk-
Russian
War of
1877-1878
and other
Balkan
wars,
1885-1913

which four thousand Bulgarians were slain } The Slav sympathies of Russia were aroused, Russia invaded Turkey (1877), and dictated at San Stefano—seven miles from Constantinople—a treaty giving almost all that was left of European Turkey to a new principedom of Bulgaria (1878) Austria and England raised the objection, which they raised forty years before, that the new Balkan State, and all the old Balkan States, would thereby exchange the yoke of Turkey, or their hard-won freedom, for the yoke of Russia A repetition of the Crimean War was imminent } Then a great Congress—the greatest since the Congress of Vienna—met at Berlin under Bismarck (1878) and annulled the Treaty of San Stefano, created a new, small, free, but tributary principedom of Bulgaria to the north of the Balkan mountains, and a new, small, half-free ‘Rumelian’ province to the south, but left Macedonia and Albania untouched Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied by Austria-Hungary, and the island of Cyprus by England, Greece, Servia, and Montenegro were enlarged, and the principedoms of Rumania and Servia became kingdoms In 1885 Bulgaria annexed the ‘Rumelian’ province at the request of its inhabitants, and bloodlessly, except that Servia out of jealousy attacked Bulgaria and was defeated (1886) In 1897 Greece tried to annex the island of Crete at the request of the Cretans, there was a brief Greek-Turk war, in which the Greeks were defeated, and the Great Powers put Crete under a prince of its own In 1900 the Prince of Montenegro took the title of King, and the Great Powers smiled gently at the news of this small event In 1908 part of the Turkish army ordered the Sultan to bring into force certain Parliamentary institutions which he professed to grant in 1876, and he obeyed, and was afterwards deposed in favour of a new Sultan This method of asking for

freedom was the very method which had been practised so often with such doubtful success in Portugal, Spain, Naples, and elsewhere during the past century. Reform by mutiny led to curious results. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria declared itself a kingdom. There were now five kingdoms in the Balkan Peninsula—Greece, Rumania, Servia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, Albania and Macedonia were still Turkish provinces and the scene of chronic rebellion and disorder, although since 1903 the Great Powers, and since 1908 Turkey, had introduced reforms. In October 1912 the five kings put their heads together, and all these States except Rumania began a war of liberation against Turkey on behalf of its oppressed Christian or Aryan subjects. In a short time the Turks were cooped up within thirty miles of Constantinople, and the allies overran and were permitted by the Treaty of London (1913) to divide between them the rest of the peninsula except Albania, which the Great Powers resolved to protect from the allies as well as from the Turks.

Some one may say: Why did not the Great Powers do all this in the Greek or Egyptian or Crimean Wars? or allow Russia to do it after the Treaties of Adrianople or San Stefano? The reply is—that true freedom can only be won by self-help, and that if the Balkan Slavs had leaned on a foreign liberator they might easily have shared the fate of the half-free provinces of Russia—Poland, Finland, and the rest—which have merged wholly in the Russian Empire. It was only national enthusiasm which made Italy, Germany, Greece, and the rest of the Balkan States distinct, compact, and therefore strong states, and national enthusiasm can only grow from within a state. For that reason every European regards the right of men of one nation to work out their own salvation in their own way with the

National-
ities and
wars.

reverence due to the greatest force or fate which sways historical events. Almost every war of the past century has been a nation-making war. Even the Crimean War was a war by guardians of infant nationalities against a too powerful protector, in order that the infants might one day be strong enough to stand alone and unaided in the world's strife. Again, Napoleon III treated Germans as a superior treats inferiors, as in Frederick the Great's time, German instincts of self respect revolted against the treatment—'These people', said Frederick the Great, 'wish to be the sovereign arbiters of sovereigns, and that is what persons of my way of thinking will by no means put up with'—so now Germany became one nation by 'blood and iron', to use Bismarck's phrase. Nation-states, though they cause European dissension, are the most prominent features of the Europe of to-day, and that is why Europe cannot become one. It does not follow that, because wars made nation-states, nation-states are not also made by peaceful means. In 1905 Norway severed itself from Sweden without spilling a drop of blood or firing a single shot, and unbroken friendship has prevailed ever since between Norway and Sweden. A referendum was taken, and both kingdoms—for Norway is a kingdom—accepted its results. Europe has to thank the French revolutionists for this use of the referendum. Europe has to thank England for the use of the other great peaceful political weapon—Parliament—and Parliamentary government, and the freedom without disorder, the power for one nation to change its laws within the widest limits, the duty of other nations not to interfere with it when it does so, and all the other rights and duties which Parliamentary institutions imply. Something will be said of what Englishmen mean by Parliamentary government and Parliamentary institutions in the next and last chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE MODERN AGE, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE British Constitution is the model after which most of the constitutions of the Aryan world have been made since 1776. A king, in whose name every act of state is done, a ministry, named by the king to advise and carry out these acts, and two Houses of Parliament—the lower to vote supplies, and both to make laws, the upper originally named by the king, and the lower directly elected by countrymen and townsmen to represent their shire or town, and both summoned regularly by the king—these are the three outward and visible signs of the British Constitution, and all these outward signs have been easily copied by kingdoms or adapted by republics. But the spirit of the British Constitution which decides the relation between king, ministry, and Parliament, or between the two Houses of Parliament, is far harder to copy, because it is written not in Codes of Law, but in the minds and memories of statesmen. Yet it is enshrined to some extent in three institutions, which silently grew between 1660 and 1830, Party—the Cabinet and—Responsible Government. The success of the British Constitution during that period was largely due to these three institutions, none of which can be easily invented, copied, or adapted, and each of which has its roots in historical events.

Soon after 1660 the English people split into two 'parties', each taking different sides in disputes about

The
British
Consti-
tu-
tion

The Party
System

the French-English alliance, or tolerance, or the right of a Roman Catholic to be king, and in about the year 1678 the name Whig was applied to those who resisted, and the name Tory to those who assisted the king in these disputes. As new questions arose from time to time, men started new movements within their party, or even changed their party, there was plenty of ebb and flow, but beneath the ebb and flow three facts endured first, each party, whether Whig or Tory, comprised thinking men not of one but of every class and pursuit, secondly, the parties were competitors rather than enemies, and thirdly, Whigs and Tories fought not with force but with arguments, no change of policy being ever due to riot, mutiny, or murder. Since 1831 Tories were often called Conservatives, and Whigs were often called Liberals the latter wanting much change, and the former wanting little change. After Ireland became united to Great Britain (1800) Irishmen never quite fitted themselves into the party system, and often formed a third, or 'Irish Party', which became powerful for the first time in 1886. In 1905 a small 'Labour Party' came to the fore in British politics, formed a fourth party, and pledged itself to promote the interests of a single class, a thing which no party or member had ever yet professed to do. At the time of writing (1913) the Irish Party and the Labour Party are allies of the Liberal Party, so that for present purposes of government the United Kingdom is still divided into two parties. Without this division into two parties the British House of Commons cannot work smoothly, for the parties are always changing in numbers, principles, and influence, and whenever the statesmen of one party cannot carry on the government, the other party are expected to furnish statesmen to carry it on.

abinet.

The statesmen who carry on government are the

ministers, and the chief ministers are the 'Cabinet'. The Cabinet consists of from twelve to twenty members¹ of the king's Privy Council. Before Parliaments arose, all the king's ministers carried on government under the king's eye, and were called the King's Council or Privy Council. Then the 'King in Council' lost his law-making power (except in 'Crown Colonies') and his judicial power (except in the Star Chamber until 1641, and in colonial appeals), and the council became so numerous that Charles II, who wished secrecy, used to consult five only of his fifty councillors (1667-1679), and in William III's time, and ever since, those few great Privy Councillors or ministers who advise the king in secret have been called the Cabinet. As time went on, a bridge, so to speak, was built between the Cabinet and the Party System. In 1692 the Earl of Sunderland advised William III to choose as his Cabinet men of the Whig party, which was then strongest in the House of Commons. [He accepted the advice, and it became before 1832 an unwritten rule that the Cabinet must consist of men of one party, and must have one mind, and must stand or fall with the success or failure in the House of Commons of the party which supports it.] Then another change occurred. Because George I spoke no English, and George II spoke bad English, they did not attend the meetings of the Cabinet, and in George III's time it was an unwritten rule that the king must not attend these meetings. Thus it happens, that although the king appoints the ministers he always appoints as Prime Minister some one who can command most votes in the House of Commons, and he consults not with the Cabinet but with the Prime Minister or some one minister, and acts on this advice. Indeed,

¹ Compare the numbers of various governing Committees, *supra*, pp 30, 86, 88, 130, 131

instead of ministers advising a supreme king, the king only advises ministers, whom he has made almost supreme. [The king may dismiss ministers, but it is seldom that he can find other ministers to succeed them, as long as the dismissed ministers can command most votes in the House of Commons.]

Respon-
sible Gov-
ernment

The rule that the Prime Minister must have the House of Commons under his control is derived from the fact that in England many necessary taxes are only granted year by year, (and all taxes are imposed by the House of Commons,) the consent of the House of Lords being given to the taxes as a matter of course. Therefore it matters everything whether the House of Commons, but it matters little whether the House of Lords is with or against the Cabinet. (In 1911 the first law was passed which regulated the relations of the two Houses and under it the House of Lords cannot veto but can only delay for a little more than two years the laws which the House of Commons wishes to pass, so that the House of Commons, or rather the ministers who conduct its business, are supreme in everything until a new election of members takes place, and a new election has to take place every five years. These relations between king, ministers, and Parliament are expressed in these words 'Ministers are servants of the king but are responsible to the House of Commons'. The Party System, the Cabinet, and the system of responsible government (in this sense) are the three unseen springs which make the machinery of the British Constitution move, and these three springs were themselves brought into working order by constant use between 1660 and 1832.

Reform
Acts,
1832-1885

Before 1832 one of the visible parts of the machine had become rusty, and it was necessary to renew it. The Factory System, which I have described, peopled

solitudes and emptied villages, so that full towns sent no members, and empty villages sent many members to Parliament, and Parliament ceased to be a mirror of the people. Accordingly, 'Reform Bills' were passed giving votes to every one with (1832, 1867) or without (1867, 1885) property in places more or less equal to one another in size or population. Then it was urged what are votes without secrecy or knowledge? and secret voting by ballot (1872) and compulsory public elementary education (1870) came into force.

The Factory System brought wage earners together, and they began to combine to protect their class interests. These combinations were illegal before 1824, but they are now made legal by laws passed in 1824, 1859, 1869, and 1876. The trades unions, as these combinations are called, have amassed large funds which they sometimes use to force wage-payers to pay more wages. This coercion often results in illegal acts, and recently, by a law, of which few jurists approve (1906), trades unions have been put above the law, and cannot be fined for misdeeds authorized by them. Ever since the earliest Factory Act (1819) a long series of Acts has been passed to protect children, women, and others from overwork, danger, bad atmosphere, and the like in factories, and these Acts almost form a Code of Labour Laws.

In consequence of new industries and new means of reaching new markets, trade began to flow in new ways and to new goals, and the government ceased to say how or by whom any trade should be carried on, or whence or whither it should go. First the East India Company's monopolies (1813, 1833) and the Navigation Acts (1822, 1825, 1849) were abolished, and secondly, preference to home-made articles against similar articles made abroad—by taxing the latter more than the former—was abolished, chiefly by Sir Robert Peel.

Factory
and Trade
Union
Acts,
1819-1906

Free
Trade
Acts,
1813-1866

(1842-1846), but also by W E Gladstone (1852-1855, 1859-1866) Those who were in favour of this preference were called Protectionists, and Peel's chief battle against the Protectionists raged round the Corn Laws, which imposed customs' duties upon the foreign corn on which Britons, as they became more and more numerous, depended more and more for their daily food The chief supporters of the Corn Laws were the Tories In 1845 there was an Irish famine, in 1846 Peel, although he was the leader of the Tories, abolished the Corn Laws with Whig help, in order that Irishmen might not starve, and in 1852 the last Tories gave up all thoughts of restoring the Corn Laws

Both
Parties
passed
these Acts

It will be noted that the changes of law mentioned in the last three paragraphs were due to changes of population and of industry, and that the constitution was not touched until 1911 Nothing, too, was done suddenly, everything was done gradually, and if the dates of these changes of law are noted it will be seen that one party never undid what the other party did, but always carried further what the other party began For this purpose I append the following table, which will also show how stable English ministries have been during the past century



From an engraving by Wyon

| Kings | Prime Ministers (excepting those who were in power less than a year) | Some other Ministers |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| George III 1760-1820 | Lord Liverpool 1812-1827 (T) | Lord Palmerston 1809-1828 Lord Castlereagh 1812-1822 Canning 1816-1821 |
| George IV 1820-1830 | Canning 1827 (T) (I) Duke of Wellington 1828-1830 (T) | Peel 1822-1827 1828-1830 |
| William IV 1830-1837 | Lord Grey 1830-1834 (W) Lord Melbourne 1835-1841 (W) | Lord Palmerston 1830-1834 1835-1841 |
| Victoria 1837-1901 | Sir Robert Peel 1841-1846 (C) (I) Lord John Russell 1846-1852 (W) Lord Aberdeen 1852-1855 (C) Lord Palmerston 1855-1858 1859-1865 (L W) Lord Derby 1866-1868 (C) W E Gladstone 1868-1874 (L) B Disraeli 1874-1880 (C) W E Gladstone 1880-1885 Lord Salisbury 1886-1892 (C) W E Gladstone 1892-1894 Lord Rosebery 1894-1895 (L) Lord Salisbury 1895-1902 | Lord John Russell 1846-1851 1852-1855 Lord John Russell 1831-1834 1835-1841 1859-1865 W E Gladstone 1841-1846 1852-1855 1859-1866 B Disraeli 1866-1868 Joseph Chamberlain 1880-1885 A. J. Balfour 1886-1892 1895-1902 Joseph Chamberlain 1895-1903 |
| Edward VII 1901-1910 | A. J. Balfour 1902-1905 (C) Sir H. Campbell Bannerman 1905-1908 (L) H. Asquith 1908- (L) | |
| George V 1910- | | |

T = Tory W = Whig C = Conservative L = Liberal I means liberal tendencies

Contrast
of English
and other
legisla-
tion.

What a contrast English history during the modern age presents to the history of other European countries ! They, time after time, at a moment's notice, amid wars and rumours of war, changed their nature, area, and constitution, while England, without haste or rest, amid peace and prosperity, adapted to the new needs the old constitution, which it alone of European countries had preserved amid the wrecks and ruins of the Napoleonic age. Such changes of area as Great Britain experienced occurred outside Europe, and were sometimes accompanied with war, but every change brought an increase of area, and every war has been successful.

The self-
governing
colonies

Great Britain is like a comet, small, solid, and bright in its body, and with a tail as bright as the body, covering a great part of the sky. The life which is led inside the three little countries of England, Scotland, and Ireland is only a small part of its real life, for it lives also as 'the British Empire' in many distant lands, which it rules and sometimes peoples, and the lands which it peoples are apt to grow like the land which peopled them, and to become self-governing colonies or dominions. The self-governing dominions are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland, each of which was built up, or built itself up, brick by brick, in different ways and at different times. Each self-governing dominion sends one or two of its leading ministers to Imperial Conferences which have met, since 1887, every few years in London in order to discuss questions of interest to the whole 'Empire'—as Great Britain *plus* its oversea possessions is called, each helps the fleet, which watches over all, by gifts of money, men, or ships, and representatives of each may and sometimes do attend meetings of a body, composed partly of the chief members of the British Cabinet, partly of naval and military experts, and called the 'Committee of Imperial

Defence'. But as yet the visible political bonds between Great Britain and its self-governing dominions are thin, as we should expect, having regard to the recent date at which the dominions were made self governing. Nothing like this system of self-governing sub-states grouped around a single self-governing European state exists elsewhere. On the other hand, British possessions also include savage or less civilized states where Britons do not settle, except as traders or capitalists, and which Great Britain governs as 'Crown Colonies' more or less despotically, because no other form of government is at present possible, and almost every European state has dependencies of this kind.

In Canada, Quebec Province was occupied by French Canadians before and after 1763, Ontario Province by British exiles from the United States and by British soldier settlers after 1763, and, from 1791 to 1840, either province had representative assemblies, but neither had 'responsible government'. When the modern age began, an age of emigration began and streams of emigrants came from the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland. British and French settlers disagreed, the French-Canadians of Quebec Province made government impossible, and some of them took to arms in order to obtain a new constitution. The rebellion was easily quelled (1837), Lord Durham was sent out to inquire into its cause (1838), by his advice Ontario and Quebec Provinces were made into one province, in order that in case racial feuds arose British might outnumber French settlers, and 'responsible government' was introduced there and in the Atlantic provinces (1840). In 1867 Canada was made one 'Dominion' with federated provinces, which now are—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island in the far east, Quebec and Ontario in the

middle east, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta in the middle west, and British Columbia in the far west. They spread from ocean to ocean, east and west, in one long line. Before 1870 the flat west central plains were hardly peopled. In 1870 some half-breed hunters who were there refused to submit to the new dominion, and Lord Wolseley led out an expedition to Winnipeg to enforce submission. Since 1870 these provinces have become the granary of the world. Mountainous British Columbia before 1856 was visited by hunters only, in that year gold was found in its southern districts, and now it is prosperous and populous. In 1885 a railway linked Vancouver, which is the most important Canadian city on the Pacific, with Quebec, and Quebec with Halifax, which is the most important Canadian city on the Atlantic, without touching foreign soil.

Australia

As in Canada, so in Australia British colonists poured in after 1815, and in Australia they met convicts or men who had been convicts, and the two classes disagreed. Other settlers, avoiding the convicts, created new homes for themselves in Western Australia (1829), South Australia (1836), Victoria (1836), and New Zealand (1839). Convicts, too, until the sending out of convicts to Eastern Australia ceased (1840 et seq.), were sent into remote corners of New South Wales and elsewhere, in order that the two classes might not meet, so that the disputes of class and class dispersed both classes throughout the length and breadth of the continent. In 1851 gold was discovered in New South Wales, in one year ninety-thousand new immigrants arrived (1852), and the old convicts dwindled and died out. There was political as well as social unrest, which in 1855 was cured by the grant of responsible government to the East Australian colonies, Western Australia had the same history a few years later, and in 1900 Australia

was made one 'Commonwealth' with six federal 'states' or provinces—Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia. Like Canada, the Australian Commonwealth received its constitution from the British Parliament, but, unlike Canada, the different provinces assented to the new federal arrangements by means of the 'Referendum'.

New Zealand was given responsible government two years before Eastern Australia, but until 1862 the governor had despotic power so far as regarded the relations between the white men and the natives. Unlike Australia and Canada, the North Island of New Zealand had natives (called Maori) of a high type of culture, who invited English 'Protection' and colonization (1835, 1840), on condition that the colonists should leave Maori lands to the Maori. Therefore every acre which white men owned was bought from the Maori, but until 1865 the white men never understood the ideas of the Maori about the ownership of land, and a small lingering war had already broken out between them over a disputed title to land (1860-1870). British protection had been asked, partly because lawless white men from Australia and elsewhere were ruining the Maori, partly, too, because French visitors were already there (1838), and French ships were cruising elsewhere in the Pacific (1837 et seq., 1853 et seq.) seeking what they might annex. In 1872 German ships first appeared in the Pacific, and they, too, aimed at annexation. Englishmen never aimed at annexation for its own sake, but every one of their annexations in the Pacific was inspired by a desire to prevent annexation by other Europeans, or to save the coloured races from vile men of British origin. No annexation in the Pacific has been made by Great Britain without native consent, where the natives were capable of consent, and history is full of British refusals to annex, New Zealand and the Pacific.

thus the natives of Tonga and Fiji prayed for British annexation or protection in 1847 and 1858 respectively, and their prayers were only granted in 1900 and 1874 respectively. Like China and the United States, Great Britain is as loath to annex as to let go, and it has only annexed more of the Pacific islands than France or Germany because it has been longer there and is better known. At present, the Fiji, Solomon, Tonga, Ellice, and Gilbert Islands are British, the Cook and Manahiki Islands are also British, but are attached to New Zealand, the New Hebrides are partly British, partly French, and Eastern New Guinea is British, but attached to Australia.

South
Africa.

In South Africa the earliest native race was Hottentot, and gave no trouble. After the Dutch (or Boers) arrived, black tribes of Bantu race, more savage and less settled than the Maori, came fighting and pushing one another from north and east towards the Cape, while the Boers went wandering to the north and east from the Cape. White and black met some five hundred miles east of the Cape, and a one hundred years' war ensued (1779-1879). Both were invaders, and the blacks were and are far more numerous than the whites. After 1795 Great Britain took the Dutch colonies into her keeping, and in 1814 restored them to Holland, with the exception of Cape Colony and one or two lesser colonies, for which she paid £6,000,000. Then British colonists arrived, slaves were abolished here and in other British colonies at a total cost of £20,000,000, and the Boer slave-holders thought that they were cheated of their dues (1834), a British Secretary of State gave back land to the Bantus on the mistaken ground that in one of their border wars with the white colonists they had right on their side (1835-1836), the spirit which sets race against race began to estrange Boer from Briton, and ten thousand Boers

went north into the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Northern Natal (1836). As there were Englishmen already in Southern Natal, Natal was made a British colony (1842), but new free republics were set up in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, although no Europeans (except Mormons) have for more than two thousand years claimed that they could create a new free state, except as the result of war. Great Britain disallowed (1848) and then allowed (1854) the claim of the Orange Free State, and allowed (1854) disallowed (1877) and then allowed (1881) the claim of the Transvaal, with the consent, it was believed, of the inhabitants on each occasion. 'Responsible government' was not proposed, but perhaps the presence of so many natives of one race made men loath to try this cure. In 1879 the Zulus (who were Bantus) threatened both the Transvaal and Natal, and after annexing the Transvaal the British Government ordered the Zulus to desist from their warlike preparations. They refused, fought and were defeated (1879), and then the Boers revolted and got their freedom back, except in external matters (1881). Meanwhile British settlers moved north to Kimberley, where diamonds were found on lands which their native owners gave over to the British authorities (1870 et seq.). For fear of the Boers and of lawless white men, the Bantus on either side of the Boer republics prayed to become and became British. In 1886 gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and Britons rushed thither. In 1889 Cecil Rhodes—an Englishman resident in Cape Colony—founded a company to colonize savage countries to the north, and amongst other things to work mines, which he had bought from the Matabele—who are Zulus living north of the Transvaal, the Matabele attacked his colonists and were defeated, their land was annexed, other lands were opened up by treaties with their rulers,

and these new districts, which are named Rhodesia, now extend to Lake Tanganyika, 560 miles south of the equator, and more than two thousand miles north-east of the Cape. In 1899, when race hatred was bitter between Boer and Briton owing to faults on both sides, Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State, asked Krüger, the Transvaal president, to give equal political rights to every white resident in the Transvaal. Krüger refused. There were warlike preparations on both sides. The Boers bade the British—even as the British once bade the Zulus—to desist from their warlike preparations, and on their refusal declared war (1899). After three years' war, in which no coloured men took part, the Boers yielded, then the Boer republics became British colonies (1902), were given responsible government (1906-1907), and combined with Cape Colony and Natal to form one dominion—like Canada—called 'the Union of South Africa'. The 'Union' plus Rhodesia and the neighbouring Bantu states, which sued for and were taken under British protection (1885 et seq.), almost equal the size of China Proper, Australia being twice and Canada between twice and thrice their size. Australians, New Zealanders, and Canadians fought on the British side in the great Boer war, and it is sometimes asked whether, if responsible government had been granted to South Africans when it was granted elsewhere, the Boer war would have occurred. As it was, Cape Colonists only obtained responsible government in 1872, and the Boer colonists from Cape Colony only obtained it after the great Boer war.

Egypt.

In the far north east of Africa, Ismail, son of Ibrahim, son of Mehemet Ali, ruled Egypt with the title of 'Khedive', splendidly, but extravagantly, and in 1869 he opened the Suez Canal between the Mediterranean

and Red Sea, thus making Egypt the gateway between Europe and Eastern Asia, as had been the case 380 years previously. He ruled also over the Sudan, which is south of Egypt, and extends to the sources of the Nile, south of the equator, in which task he employed General Gordon, who ended the Tai-p'ing rebellion in Kiang-Su (1864). Ismail was grand in his ideas and lavish with his money, so that Egypt was rapidly becoming bankrupt; so English and French commissioners were put to look after his money matters, and at last the Great Powers deposed him and set up his son Tewfik in his stead. In 1882 the Egyptian soldiers, led by politicians, mutinied against Tewfik, England and France intervened, the French, who had troubles of their own in Tunis, withdrew and the British, after a short war against the rebels, restored Tewfik to power. Then under English protection Egypt became rich instead of bankrupt; and regained (1896-1899) its lost Sudan provinces. Before and after the English conquest many Egyptian armies and garrisons had been massacred in the Sudan by religious Mahommedan fanatics, more savage and cruel than the Tai-ping rebels, and at last Gordon went to Khartum in the Sudan, almost alone, to see if he could save the garrisons that survived (1884). He and they perished, in spite of the efforts of a British army to save him and them (1885). Ten years of chaos followed; and then Lord Kitchener, with the help of British troops, and of Egyptian troops trained by him and of railways made by him, recovered Ismail's possessions. Egypt, like some Indian native state, is guided rather than governed by Great Britain, but the Sudan is governed in the same sort of way as British possessions are governed in West and East Africa. These other African possessions are mostly of recent growth, and owe their existence partly to the presence

of white traders, but mainly to a desire to destroy slave raids which have made a hell of Africa. This thought inspired Gordon in the Sudan, and led the various nations of Europe, after 1878 or thereabouts, to race inland, where the evil had its roots. Inspired by this motive, France, Germany, and Great Britain went so far inland that they met round Lake Chad, and Belgium, Germany, and Great Britain met round Lake Tanganyika. British rule already stretches almost in an unbroken line from Cairo to the Cape, owing to border wars with Algiers France subdued Tunis (1881) and part of Marocco (1911), Italy took Tripoli, owing to the oppression of Italian residents by the Turkish authorities (1911), and Great Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, and Italy govern all Africa, except Abyssinia in the east and some small places in the west.

British-
India,

1818-1858.

After the last raids by the Marathas and by those who followed them, as jackals follow tigers (1818), Great Britain controlled the whole peninsula of India except the Punjab, where religious enthusiasts, called Sikhs, founded a state of warriors, who openly prepared to cross their boundary at the Sutlej and to attack the British. Being a free state the Sikh state was not told—as the Zulus were told—to desist from these preparations, and the British waited on the east of the Sutlej until the coming storm should burst. Meanwhile there were wars on the eastern and western frontiers. On the eastern frontier Burma attacked Assam, which was a protected state, and the British went to the rescue and annexed Burmese Arakan and Tenasserim on the eastern peninsula of Southern Asia (1826), adding Burmese Pegu (which joins Arakan to Tenasserim), when the war broke out anew some years later (1852). On the western frontier Afghan rulers claimed to be overlords of Sind, Punjab, and Kashmir in India;

Russian envoys interfered in Afghan wars and politics; and the succession to the Afghan throne was disputed by two claimants, therefore Lord Auckland, the Indian Governor-General, assisted the claimant whom he favoured. Interference led to war (1838-1842), and ended in an arrangement under which Afghanistan left its foreign affairs to British control, but did not allow any British controller to visit or live in Afghanistan. This war brought in its wake a war with Sind, which ended in Sind being annexed (1843), and at last the Sikhs wantonly crossed the Sutlej (1845), and after two hard-fought wars the Punjab was also annexed (1849). In 1856 Oudh was annexed because its ruler was an impossible brutal tyrant. Possibly annexations had been too frequent to be wise. In 1857, just one century after Plassey (1757), the Bengal soldiers, who served in the British army, and were to British soldiers as eight to one, mutinied. British India was shaken to its foundations. The mutineers rallied at three cities — Delhi, where the last titular Mogul emperor joined them, Cawnpore, where the son of the last chief of the Marathas led them, and Lucknow, the capital of the last native state which had been annexed. The forces of past Indian history seemed suddenly arrayed against the British, who now had to save themselves; but the Sikhs, the greater native rulers, and the southern armies remained true to them, and they triumphed in 1858, in which year the old East India Company was abolished, and India became in name, as well as in fact, a single state subject to the direct rule or, in the case of native states, to the direct influence of the British Crown.

After 1859 the middle peninsula of Southern Asia British-India, enjoyed under British rule a peace which it had never 1859-1913. known in all its past history. But then there were

new dangers. New European neighbours appeared in its neighbourhood. A little before Plassey, Russian exiles, heretics, miners, and soldiers crossed the thinly peopled prairies of Mid-western Asia and reached the Altai mountains, and now Russia occupied Kulja in Chinese Turkestan, while Chinese rule was in suspense (1871-1881), but Kulja is far from India. Russia also swept across the deserts of Mid-western Asia and smashed to pieces the vile slave markets of the Khanates—Bokhara, Samarkand, Khokand (1868), and Khiva (1875) where many an Indian trader had been, and these events sent a thrill through India. In 1878 a Russian envoy appeared in the Afghan capital—Kabul. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India, also sent an envoy to Kabul, but he was turned back at the frontier, and a second Afghan war began, which was like the first war in its methods and results (1878-1880). In 1884 the Russians took Merv, which is on the Afghan borderland, and there were more 'excursions and alarms', but since then the European rivals settled their disputes by contract, and a frontier has been marked out between Afghanistan, Russia, and British India (1885-1895) and between Persia, Afghanistan, and British India (1905). Russia and Great Britain have also agreed as to Afghanistan being under British influence, and Tibet being under Chinese influence (1907), and on the Pamir Plateau three empires meet peacefully and are distinct—Great Britain, Russia, and China. One other British war with Burma, caused by the impossible brutality of its ruler, led to its annexation (1886). Here, too, French rivalry in the eastern peninsula of Southern Asia quickened British action, but English-French rivalry has also ended in peaceful contracts, as we shall see.

While Burmese wars carried British India down to

Tenasserim on the Malay Peninsula, British rule began to creep up the Malay Peninsula from the Straits of Malacca towards Tenasserim. In order to suppress piracy, the British bought the island of Penang from its Malay ruler¹ (1786). After 1815 the British restored Malacca to the Dutch, from whom they bought it back in 1824. In 1819 the Malay ruler¹ of Johore sold to Great Britain the island of Singapore on the Straits of Malacca—which had then been empty or almost empty for 450 years, and now contains more than 300,000 inhabitants, mostly Chinese. In order to protect immigrant Indian and Chinese miners, British residents were appointed to advise the Malay rulers (1874), who, when France drew near, accepted British control over their external affairs (1885 et seq.), which control now extends over neighbouring Malay provinces transferred from Siam in 1909.² French influence lies further east, and dates from a disputed succession to the throne of Cochín China in which a French missionary took the winning side (1774–1799). In 1858 Napoleon III, wishing to make France powerful in the Far East, sent his fleet on its return from Tientsin to punish the people of Annam for their ill treatment of French missionaries. Turan (near Hué) and Saigon were seized (1858–1859), Cochín China (as the six southern provinces of Annam were called) was annexed (1862–1867), and efforts by the people of Tong-king to shut out French traders from reaching Yunnan (in China) by the Song-koi river led to the seizure (1873), abandonment (1874), and re seizure (1882–1883) of Hanoi (in Tong-king), and to a war in which China as well as Tong-king opposed France (1883–1885). A French protectorate over Cochín China,

Malay
States,
Indo
China,
Siam

¹ Sultan

² Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis, the Siamese claims to these provinces were not always admitted

Cambodia, Annam, and Tong-king was declared, and was recognized, first by Siam (1867 et seq.), and lastly by China (1885). In 1885 Jules Ferry, the French statesman, to whom these colonial enterprises in Eastern Asia, Tunis, and elsewhere were due, fell from power, but what he did survived. The causes for which and the modes by which the French colonies and protectorates were established were not always those which Britons approve, but the results are not unhappy. Siam, France, and China settled their boundary disputes by treaties in 1893, 1904, and 1907, Great Britain and China fixed their boundaries by treaty in 1894-1897, and a British-French Treaty (1896) agreed to uphold the freedom of Siam from interference by either power. Siam opens its country freely to Europeans, and enjoys more complete freedom from European interference than any other Asiatic state of equal size. Indeed, in all Africa and Asia, Abyssinia, Siam, Persia, Afghanistan and Liberia are the only native states that are not ruled or controlled from Europe—except of course China, which is one of the three gigantic states—Russia and Great Britain being the other two gigantic states, which overshadow the whole of Asia.

China, without and within its Great Wall, is larger than Europe, though less than half the size of the British Empire, but largeness is not greatness, and China is also great. Ever since Shih-Hwang-ti, 2,100 years ago, built roads, canals, and the Great Wall of China, China within its wall has been one country. That is its strength as well as its weakness. Everlasting usurpations, divisions, and wars between Indian provinces and races induced or forced Europeans to subdue them one by one. Compared with India, China has always had unity and peace. But unity and peace made the Chinese too content, and therefore Chinese institu-

tions (like its roads, canals, and Great Wall) fell into disrepair. It had more people and more products than it wanted, it despised new people and new products because they were new; yet it could not keep out the newcomers, any more than it could keep out the sun or air or stars, which after all visit China from beyond the ocean. Still China was so great, so rich, and had outlasted so many other kingdoms, that its rulers could not be brought to believe that there were any other kingdoms which could treat with it as an equal treats with an equal. Its pride was founded on ignorance of the truth to which all European history points—that the earth is the place not of one state but of many equal states, and that their common ideas of justice are the only force which makes them harmonious though distinct. Even so, Europeans once thought that this earth is the one and only world, immovable, and in the very centre of all things, although they now know that it is only one of many moving planets, which only avoid collision by obeying the sun, which is their centre.

Ever since the Portuguese occupied Macao (1557)—The first English-Chinese war, 1839-1842 though their right to remain there was only admitted by China in 1887—Europeans traded from Macao, where they lived, with Canton, where they had factories outside the walls. In 1834 the East India Company lost its exclusive British trading rights with China, and British traders were represented by a 'Superintendent', with whom the Chinese viceroy refused to deal because he was appointed by the British Crown. Suddenly the Chinese authorities asked not for the exclusion of opium, but for the seizure of all the opium stores, which the British merchants had with the help of the Chinese officials smuggled into their factories. The superintendent granted this request, and handed over twenty thousand chests. Then the Chinese authorities, instead

of being pacified, asked from the British traders further impossible terms, and expelled them and their superintendent with threats and ignominy (1839). No explanation or redress was possible, because no high Chinese official would see or speak to the representative of a foreign kingdom, and although the Afghan war was raging, a few British sailors and soldiers, using the almost empty island of Hong-Kong as their base, seized Canton and other ports and dictated a treaty at Nanking (1842), under which Canton, Amoy, Fu-chau, Ningpo, and Shanghai became 'Treaty Ports' open to British and other traders and to British consuls. Hong-Kong was ceded, and under British rule has 460,000 inhabitants,¹ mostly Chinese, or six times as many as the inhabitants of Macao. Hong-Kong and Singapore, which are the chief ports for Chinese trade, are also the end of a long line of promontories and islands under British rule between the China Sea and the Atlantic. Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Aden, and Ceylon are some of these British stepping-stones between the west of Europe and the east of Asia.

The
second
war
1858-1860

There was more trouble in 1856, when British boats were seized in Canton river. British protests were spurned, and, in spite of the Indian Mutiny, Canton and the Pei ho forts were seized, and the Treaty of Tientsin (1858), which, after a renewal of the war, was ratified at Peking (1860), opened new 'Treaty Ports' and conferred rights on British consuls over British subjects at these ports, and added rights to navigate the Yang tse-kiang, to travel with passports in China, and to have ambassadors at Peking. France joined with England in this war in order to punish insults to missionaries—for France, unlike Great Britain, has warred more than once for the sole sake of her missionaries—and the treaty

¹ Including adjacent lands ceded in 1860 and 1898

provided that Christians, including Chinese Christians, should be protected in their religion. Russia at the same time got for herself by treaty the country north of the Amur and east of the Ussuri, where she built Vladivostock (1861). The admission of foreign ambassadors and consuls into China was the first real recognition by China that foreign nations were its equals. Japan, which had been even more contemptuous of foreigners (1638 to 1853), made a similar recognition for the first time in the selfsame years (1858 and 1860).

Shortly after 1860 China crushed three rebellions the Four Chinese rebellions, 1860-1900 Tai ping rebellion in Central China (1851-1864), which was done with General Gordon's help, the Mahommedan rebellions in Yunnan, Shensi, and Kansu (about 1856-1873), and a rebellion in Chinese Turkestan (1864-1877). In 1894-1895 there was a Chinese Japanese war over disputed claims in Korea, which ended in an easy victory for the Japanese, who had learned from Europe how to fight, after which Russia, backed by France and Germany, prevented the cession of the Liaotung peninsula to Japan, and got for herself the right to carry her railway through Manchuria from Moscow to Vladivostock. In 1897 two German missionaries were killed in China, and Germany, imitating French methods, obtained Kiao chow and certain rights in Shantung province by way of compensation (1897). By way of counterpoise, Russia obtained the Liaotung peninsula, and Great Britain the port of Wei-hai wei, and China opened her waterways to foreign steamers (1898). Four great European powers were now knocking at the door. In 1900 a new rebellion, known as the Boxer rebellion, broke out, in which Europeans were massacred, and the European ambassadors at Peking were in danger. For the first time in the history of Europe in Asia, all the great powers combined, and they, the United States, and

Japan sent one expedition to Peking, which rescued European and other foreign residents, and dictated terms under which more ports were opened. How often the combined Europeans tried to act in concert in Europe! Thus their Congresses of Cambray, Westphalia, Utrecht, Paris, Vienna and the like wound up tangled past wars in what I have called the New Age, and, in what I have called the Modern Age, the Congress of Vienna and Treaties of Paris (1856) and Berlin (1878) also tried, but failed to unite Europe in a common policy to prevent future wars in Europe. Once or twice the Concert of Europe, as it was called, succeeded in saving Europe from the outbreak of some general confused war over the settlement of questions in the far east of Europe, between Turkey, which tried to govern, and Turkish subjects, who refused to be governed by savage methods, and now it acted like one power against this outbreak of savagery in the far east of Asia.

China and
Europe,
1901-1912

In 1901 Russia completed its huge railway from Moscow to Vladivostock, and the new land route between China and Europe may, for aught we know, change the course of history in the same sort of way as the sea routes round the Cape of Good Hope or through the Suez Canal did when they were new. In 1904-1905 Japan warred against Russia because Russia interfered in Korea, and the Liaotung peninsula passed from Russian into Japanese hands. In 1902 and 1905 Great Britain made an alliance with Japan to preserve China and British and Japanese Asiatic possessions intact, and not to pursue selfish interests in China, in 1907 Japan made similar treaties so far as China was concerned with Russia and France, and Japan began to be regarded as a Great Power. In 1912 the Chinese Republic was founded. Parliaments or National Assemblies resembling Parliaments had been recently introduced into

Japan (1890), Russia (1906), Persia (1906), and Turkey (1908), and in 1913 China opened its first 'Parliament', and here I end my brief sketch of how China, which is and always has been one, came into contact with the many countries of Europe—scorned them, resisted them, traded with them, learned from them, and made them become more one than they had ever been since the Crusades, but only for one brief moment. History throws no light on the question, what will be the permanent results of this contact, because it is unlike anything which has hitherto occurred, but it is assuredly one of the greatest events in the history of the present time.

ENGLAND

Wessex line

Egbert (802-39), &c

Norman branch

William I (1066-87), h of d, &c

Tudor branch

- 1 Henry VII (1485-1509), h of d also cou
- 2 Henry VIII (1509-47), s
- 3 Edward VI (1547-53), s
- 4 Mary I (1553-8), d of 2
- 5 Elizabeth (1558-1603), d of 2

Stuart branch

- 6 James I (1603-25), ggs of 1 f
- 7 Charles I (1625-49), s
(Interregnum, 1649-60)
- 8 Charles II (1649 or 1660-85), s
- 9 James II (1685-88), br (dep)
- 10 William III (1689-1702), gs of 7 f
and Mary (1689-94), d of 9
- 11 Anne (1702-14), d of 9

Hannoverian branch

- 12 George I (1714-27), ggs of 6 f
- 13 George II (1727-60), s
- 4 George III (1760-1820), gs.
- 5 George IV (1820-30), s
- 5 William IV (1830-7), br

Victoria (1837-1901), gd of 12

Edward VII (1901-10), s

George V (1910-) s

SPAIN

Spanish Habsburgs

- 1 Charles I (1516-56), same as Emperor C V, gsf and sf
- 2 Philip II (1556-98), s K of Portugal 1580 et seq
- 3 Philip III (1598-1621), s
- 4 Philip IV (1621-63), s Not K of Portugal after 1640
- 5 Charles II (1665-1700), s

Spanish Bourbons

- 6 Philip V (1700 or 1713-46), ggs of 3, f
- 7 Ferdinand VI (1746-59), s
- 8 Charles III (1759-88), s of 6
- 9 Charles IV (1788-1808), s
(Bonapartist ruler)
- 10 Ferdinand VII (1814-33) s
- 11 Isabella II (1833-68), d
(dep)
(Interregnum 1868-75)
- 12 Alfonso XII (1875-85) s
- 13 Alfonso XIII (1886-) s

of essor, f means through female line, (dep) means deposed

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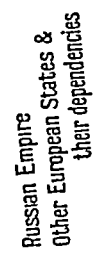
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